

**IRELAND AND LATIN AMERICA:
A CULTURAL HISTORY**

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ABSTRACT

According to Declan Kiberd, “postcolonial writing does not begin only when the occupier withdraws: rather it is initiated at that very moment when a native writer formulates a text committed to cultural resistance.” The Irish in Latin America – a continent emerging from indigenous cultures, colonisation, and migrations – may be regarded as colonised in Ireland and as colonisers in their new home. They are a counterexample to the standard pattern of identities in the major English-speaking destinations of the Irish Diaspora. Using literary sources, the press, correspondence, music, sports, and other cultural representations, in this thesis I search the attitudes and shared values signifying identities among the immigrants and their families. Their fragmentary and wide-ranging cultures provide a rich context to study the protean process of adaptation to, or rejection of, the new countries. Evolving from oppressed to oppressors, the Irish in Latin America swiftly became *ingleses*. Subsequently, in order to join the local middle classes they became *vaqueros*, *llaneros*, *huasos*, and *gauchos* so they could show signs of their effective integration to the native culture, as seen by the Latin American elites. Eventually, some Irish groups separated from the English mainstream culture and shaped their own community negotiating among Irishness, Englishness, and local identities in Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Cuba, and other places in the region. These identities were not only unmoored in the emigrants’ minds but also manoeuvred by the political needs of community and religious leaders. After reviewing the major steps and patterns of Irish migration to Latin America, the thesis analyses texts from selected works, offers a version of how the settlers became Latin Americans or not, and elucidates the processes by which a new Irish-Latin American hybrid was created.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely the result of my original work and, except where otherwise cited, it is a true reflection of my own research. I certify that it does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for an academic degree or diploma in any university or professional institution. I confirm that this thesis does not exceed 100,000 words (excluding the bibliography and the appendices) and has not yet been published.

Edmundo Murray
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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

This research is about the cultural representations of Irish settlers in Latin America and the Caribbean.¹ Literary, archival, and critical sources were studied seeking to identify shared values and attitudes among the Irish and their families in Latin America. The diversity of cultures has been considered, not only in Ireland and Latin America, but also among different social groups of Irish emigrants, as well as in the diverse receiving societies. This thesis is based on my examination of Irish-Latin American literature and cultural representations, and draws on research conducted in Irish Studies and Latin American Studies.

The case of the Irish in Latin America is worth studying for three main reasons. Common to other human displacements, the migrants were the point of contact between different cultures, languages, and sets of values. They came from a colonised territory – in the heart of the British Empire – but when they arrived in a space perceived as empty and wild, scarcely populated by peoples who were ethnically and culturally different from their previous English masters, the Irish became colonisers and occasionally oppressors themselves. And third, through generations the Irish settlers and their families experienced a distinctive process of identification, by which they became English, then Latin Americans, and, eventually, Irish.

I studied elements of literature of the Irish in Argentina for my graduate dissertation at the University of Geneva.² My goal was to prove that there was a literary production that portrayed the feelings of the Irish Argentines as immigrants in a new land, as pioneers of the

¹ Except otherwise noted, the term “Latin America” in this dissertation includes Mexico, Central America, South America, the islands and territories of the Caribbean, as well as European and North American dominions in the region. Certain areas of present-day United States of America are also included since until the nineteenth century they were Spanish colonies or Mexican territories. A historical and social discussion of the name “Latin America” is included in Luis Claudio Villafañe Santos’s “American, United Statian, USAmerican, or Gringos?” in *AmeriQuests* 2:1 (2005).

² *How the Irish Became ‘Gauchos Ingleses’: Diasporic models in Irish-Argentine Literature*, mémoire de licence ès lettres, Université de Genève, Department of English, supervised by Dr. David Spurr (2003).

nationalist ethos of the country, and as vehicles of a newly shaped identity of the Irish abroad. Equipped with the knowledge acquired during this research, I examined the cases of other Irish communities and individuals in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela, as well as their institutions and communications. I also weighed up more recent contacts between Ireland and Latin America, including diplomatic and trade relations, religious missions, and return migration to Ireland.

I decided the subject of this thesis when I read in the newspapers what one could consider the first milestone on Irish-Latin American relations in the twenty-first century. In the morning of 11 August 2001, three Irishmen were arrested in Bogotá's El Dorado airport while attempting to leave Colombia with false identities. They were accused of being IRA³ explosives experts hired by FARC⁴ guerrillas to provide military training to their members. Without delay the Sinn Féin – an unofficial political branch of the IRA – launched the *Bring Them Home* campaign. A public relations operation was implemented and the Irish press was flooded with communiqués about the alleged innocence of the three men and their apparent unsafe situation in Colombia. In the meantime, legal support was organised for the defence and international observers were brought to Colombia to witness the trial. Eventually, the three men were sentenced to seventeen years in jail, but managed to flee the country and surfaced in 2005 in Ireland. The observers' reports and the literature distributed by *Bring Them Home* were influenced by a particular Irish vision of Latin America, which was moulded during centuries of relations between Ireland and the continent. This vision can be traced to the period when thousands of Irish men and women abandoned their homes in

³ The *Provisional* Irish Republican Army (IRA) is the most important group derived from the original IRA founded in 1916, which fought the War of Independence against the British forces (1916-1921), the Irish Civil War in the Anti-Treaty or Republican side (1922-1923), and that in 1969 split from the Marxist *Official* IRA to form the traditional armed guerrilla.

⁴ The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) is the oldest and largest guerrilla in Colombia, founded in 1964 as a military branch of a Marxist radical group.

Ireland and other places to emigrate to Latin America, particularly after the early independence push of the 1810s and until the year of the Great Depression in 1929. Several returned to Ireland or re-migrated to North America, England, Australia, South Africa or New Zealand. Others settled in the region and integrated into its local societies, and their descendants eventually formed communities of immigrants.

The literature on migrations covers an array of disparate disciplines and narrative genres like history, geography, sociology, economy, law, anthropology, as well as family history, travel writing, personal memoirs and fiction narratives. One of the more frequently neglected fields in migrations is the study of behaviours through cultural productions, including literature, the press, and private communications. Furthermore, the literary production of the migrants and their families is an important source of information about their beliefs, which can ultimately provide significant insights on the values and attitudes shaping their culture. Other cultural representations like the press, correspondence, music, education or sports complete the picture with supplementary cultural input.

The Objective of this Thesis

Copious research has been dedicated to migrations in Latin America. Most studies focus on people emigrating from European countries to South America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in particular to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Others analyse migrations from Africa, China, India, Japan, Korea, and the Middle East to the Caribbean and locations in Central and South America. A third research field – traditionally conducted by anthropologists – examines the migrations of indigenous peoples in the region. Relatively few studies include return migration or re-migration within the Americas or to other world regions. Disciplines range from demographic surveys and economic history enquiries, all the

way to critical reviews of literary texts and discourse analysis of the immigrant fictional works and linguistic corpora.

English-speaking migrations in Latin America have been the object of a number of studies in social and economic history fields, and several specialised and general interest articles. The Welsh and British settlements in the Argentine and Chilean Patagonia, the U.S. American⁵ colonisation schemes in Brazil and Panama, and the British territories in the Caribbean, Belize, Guyana, and the Falkland Islands⁶ have been studied from different perspectives. A few studies have focused on the Irish in Latin America; most of them have been conducted by social historians.⁷

As an academic discipline social history preceded cultural history, which emerged in the late 1960s as a response to a limited perspective of contemporary historiography, and to an exaggerated emphasis on demographic studies and the Marxist deterministic interpretation of structural societies and evolution. The concept of agency shifted from paramount historic events and political, religious, and military leaders to the lives of the people in their quotidian context, a factor that attracted scores of scholars to the new discipline. Cultural history research became known for their use of unconventional sources, including non-archival and private documentation, archaeological evidence, artistic representations, festivals and celebrations, and the newly fashioned cultural artefacts. Mass media, including print, electronic and film, have been at the centre of several studies. In a later co-operation with social historians, cultural history developed new fields of interpretation derived of art history

⁵ I use the acronyms U.S. or USA to refer to the United States of America, and U.S. American as the corresponding adjective.

⁶ Except in quotes, I use “Falkland Islands” or “Falklands War” in English to refer to the Spanish-language proper names *Islas Malvinas* and *Guerra del Atlántico Sur*.

⁷ Scholarly studies researched the Irish in Argentina (Sabato and Korol 1987, McKenna 1994, Healy 2005, and Kelly 2007). I have not been able to identify any such studies for the Irish in other Latin American countries than Argentina, or in the region as a whole. General interest essays have been published on the Irish in Latin America (Kirby 1992) and the island of Montserrat (Skinner 2004).

and microhistory, with an emphasis on the study of social memory and shared values.⁸ This thesis follows the general cultural history theoretic criteria, but with the broader vision of cultural studies.

Filling the gap between the most recent approaches and an underdeveloped field with few studies and lack of enthusiasm from scholars and institutions has not been an easy task. Certain ideological biases are recurrent in the study of the Irish in Latin America. Most enquiries excessively focus on Catholic migrants and on the ethnic aspects of Irish nationalist culture. At the same time they neglect the fact that divisions between British and Irish immigrant groups have been imported from Ireland and North America to Latin America, and were not evident in the region until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the strong connections of the Irish with other English-speaking and local groups, as well as the settlement of non-Catholic Irish groups have generally been ignored. In particular, only marginal research has been devoted to the cultural values of the Irish settlers in their new homes.

This opening chapter further explains the objective of this thesis, which is to outline a cultural history of the Irish emigrants to Latin America and their families with an emphasis on the attitudes and behaviours towards their new countries. Follows a discussion on the sources used throughout the research. I used an array of literary and archival cultural sources, such as published fictional and semi-fictional works by the emigrants and their descendants, contemporary press accounts, unpublished letters, diaries and memoirs, and representations of Irish popular culture. Published works focusing on the Irish in this region are relatively scarce

⁸ Cf. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1989, first edition 1962); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973); and Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (1989).

and difficult to locate in the different destinations of the Irish Diaspora.⁹ Fiction, poetry, autobiography and history predominate among the printed works, being the most frequent type associated with travel writing and journalism. Most of the books refer to Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela, and there is a disproportionate number of works about certain events, such as the St. Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexico War (1846-1848), or the Irish Legion in Simón Bolívar's army of the independence, as well as about historical characters like William Brown of Argentina, Ambrosio O'Higgins of Chile and Peru, or Eliza Lynch of Paraguay.

The period studied in this thesis covers approximately from the earliest settlements in Mexico and Argentina in the 1820s to the final decline on direct emigration from Ireland after the Great Depression of 1929, however including selected events during the twentieth century affecting the Irish communities.

Latin American and Irish Culture/s

Chapter Two studies the cultural frames and social influence in the resulting attitudes and behaviours of the Irish in Latin America. Ethnic relations, gender matters, social standing, politics, religion, and economy are examples of factors that shaped the values of the Irish immigrants and their families in contact with Latin American populations, and forced or restricted the diffusion in different periods of their cultural elements to other social groups in the region.

The chapter presents a discussion on the different meanings of "culture" as a social construction, including the arts, belief systems, institutions, and social and economic activity,

⁹ By "Irish Diaspora" I understand the Irish emigrants and their descendants living outside of the island of Ireland, as well as their cultural productions. The Irish Diaspora comprises over eighty million people, significantly higher than the population of Ireland itself (4.5 million in April 2009).

as well as the significance of cultural history to study the evolution of migrant societies, their values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Along these lines, the diverse discourses of the Irish migrants and their families in Latin America are discussed in this chapter, including different regional settlements and social groups, and evaluating cultural parameters such as labour, gender, politics, religion, education, environment, and national identity.

The case of the Irish in Latin America raises particular questions about cultural identity, and presents analogies and differences within the Irish Diaspora and with indigenous and immigrant groups in the region. The Catholic and Protestant identities of some of the Irish families in the region are useful to elucidate the belief systems of the larger societies.

The most peculiar feature of Irish acculturation in contact with Latin American peoples is their fragmentary and changing identities. Apart from the fact that they were born in Ireland, the Irish had multiple ways to perceive themselves, and these ways changed with the characteristics of the migrant groups, as well as with the diverse societies that they encountered in Latin America. Demographic and psychographic profiles characterise the different migrant identities. Urban vs. rural, educated vs. illiterate, landowner vs. tenant, Catholic vs. Protestant, Anglo-Irish vs. Old Irish, are just a few of the oppositions that shaped the identities of the Irish migrants.

Moreover, these identities changed vis-à-vis the receiving societies. During the nineteenth century, upon arrival in their Latin American destinations, the Irish – who perceived themselves as Irish in the British Isles – confronted indigenous peoples, Afro-Latin Americans, and European coloniser and immigrant groups, and changed their national and sometimes ethnic identity to *ingleses*. Up to the first half of the twentieth century, in order to achieve an effective integration to the larger society, their children and grand-children born in Latin America changed the *ingleses* identity to Argentines, Brazilians, Peruvians, and others.

In a third phase of this evolutionary identities, already in the last decades of the twentieth century the later generations – in many cases disillusioned with the projects of national identity in those Latin American countries – developed a further transformation of their identities to *irlandeses*.

This chapter also includes visual arts, toponymy, sports, and education of the Irish in Latin America. Painting is a powerful medium to express social values. Although the visual arts were not the most popular expressions of the Irish in the region, certain artists and works are significant and worth of mention. The analysis of place names and their origin is an efficient methodology to acquire knowledge about the culture of the studied segment of migrants. Likewise, their athletic activities and education concerns, including clubs, institutions, sports, and schooling practises reveal the mainstream discourses in the group through the imposition of social conventions to children and young men and women.

Irish Emigration, Settlement, and Re-Migration

This work focuses on the culture of the Irish emigrants to Latin America and their families. To provide material and chronological basis to the cultural study, a historical background is offered in Chapter Three as a general account of migration from Ireland to the region, including the different waves of travellers, temporary residents, and settlers in the various parts of the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. The most important migration patterns are discussed in this chapter, with details of the diverse approaches used by the Irish to acquire knowledge about and to travel to the region, from forced migration, military service, and agricultural colonies, to family or labour networks.

Indentured and occasionally forced migration shaped the majority of Irish emigration to the Caribbean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Certain Caribbean islands, as well as

areas in northern South America and Central America received numbers of labourers in the sugar cane, tobacco, cotton and other plantations, and to work as domestic service. On the other hand, managers and owners included a number of Irish family planters. Later in the eighteenth century, Irish soldiers were recruited to join British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish colonial forces stationed in Mexico, Cuba, Louisiana, Florida, Brazil, Peru, and the Río de la Plata.¹⁰ The following century, they also fought as mercenaries or volunteers in the independence armies. Often, instead of returning to Ireland, these soldiers stayed in Latin America and settled as successful businessmen, farmers, physicians or artisans, later attracting their brothers, sisters and neighbours from Ireland. From the mid-nineteenth century, agricultural colonisation was a key agenda of Latin American governments, and the British subject status of the Irish gave them a privileged position in the official priorities. Whether in organised enterprises by governments and private businessmen, or in more spontaneous migration chains, scores of peasants from almost every county in Ireland and Irish-born residents in the U.S. and England went to Latin America as labourers, colonists, and rural workers. Family and labour networks were the most successful scheme, by which settlers in a certain area would write home asking their family to help them in the farm. With the support of Catholic and Protestant missionaries and businessmen, an Irish community emerged in the pampas of Buenos Aires and Uruguay which attracted further emigrants from specific areas in Ireland. A number of migrants and their families returned to the British Isles or later re-migrated to North America or other destinations.

Emigrant Narratives

The hypothesis at the core of this dissertation is that the migration and settlement of the Irish in Latin America illustrate the production of shared values and attitudes from various

¹⁰ Throughout this dissertation I use the proper name Río de la Plata instead of the anglicised River Plate (except in quotes and in proper names including “River Plate”).

social groups in the region that developed recurring behaviours and resulted in concrete emigrant narratives. On an iterative cycle, these narratives in different levels of public discourse supported the shaping of new or modified attitudes. Chapters Four to Seven focus on the study of private documents, the press, fiction, and other social narratives of the emigrants and their successors.

The study of emigrant narratives through their correspondence and autobiography sheds an interesting light on their world visions, which impacts their cultural practises. Chapter Four (Narratives I) examines collections of letters, diaries, memoirs and autobiographies. The private and sometimes intimate comments in these documents were addressed to family and close friends or business associates. The brief annotations in diaries or the retrospective view in memoirs are other sources providing illustrative insights on the emigrants' perceptions.

The influential role of the press is analysed in Chapter Five (Narratives II). Among the many English-language newspapers and periodicals published in Latin America, a number were launched, owned or edited by Irish journalists and entrepreneurs. The newspapers represent different (sometimes opposite) sets of ideals and Irish identity values. Some were prestigious papers published by Irish editors who shared a British-centred view of Latin America and Ireland. Irish ethnocentric and nationalistic views in Latin America were embodied by other periodicals, which accompanied the ethnical renaissance firmly based on a religious foundation. The study of selected articles and editorial pieces published in these papers enhances the understanding of reader communities.

Chapter Six (Narratives III) includes the analysis of fictional pieces that pull together collective beliefs among the Irish and also influence the behaviour of this immigrant group. The acute awareness of homesickness is present in the different characters of these texts. The immigrants physically replace their home in Ireland with a new home in Latin America while

on a psychological level Ireland is linked with family and paternal concern and protection, land and work firmly rooted in agricultural labour, and a sense of calling to support the oppressed native soil. Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back* is the fictionalised memoirs of an Irish female emigrant to Argentina in the 1860s – allegedly the author's mother – who adjusts her perception of "home" from a territory of paternal security to blurred oblivion. On the other hand, the collection of short stories in William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* presents the lives of shepherds and *gauchos* negotiating cultural identities that resulted in a specific set of values for this group of settlers.¹¹

Music, dance, and celebrations have been included in Chapter Seven (Narratives IV). Musical language precedes and in some way surpasses other arts. Particularly, Irish traditional music and its popularity are strongly linked to ethnic and ideological traditions. The lyrics in songs and ballads convey persistent feelings among the Irish in the region, including both the attachment to Ireland and the congenial links with people from the local groups. The ritualised celebration of Saint Patrick's Day is rich in representations of social values, and has always been a strong symbolic demonstration of Irish identity. However, different and contrasting ideas feed this festivity, like for many slave descendants in Monserrat who celebrate an eighteenth-century rebellion against the Irish plantation owners, or the massive drinking gatherings in the streets of Buenos Aires. Alcohol drinking is a signifier of the shared values derived from socialised forms of interpreting cheerful or sad emotions, and a mode to construct the identities of the Irish in the region by Latin American voices.

Latin American Perceptions of Ireland and the Irish

In 1981 Jorge Luis Borges remarked that Samuel Beckett's major play is "very tedious. [...] Why bothering waiting for Godot if he never arrives?" (interview by Seamus Heaney in

¹¹ *Gaucha* (Spanish and Portuguese), the cowboy of the South American pampas.

El Galeón, online version: <http://www.galeon.com/literarias/borges.htm>, accessed 23 October 2008). Borges added that the Irish nationalist revival was “a bad-taste show in a farmers’ fair”. However, in *Atlas* he depicted Ireland as “a land of essentially kind and naturally Christian people carried away by the curious passion of being incessantly Irish” (*Obras Completas*, 3:408; my translation). The various and contrasting voices of Latin American writers considering Ireland and the Irish are an important aspect of the Irish culture in Latin America. These perceptions are analysed in Chapter Eight.

In addition to Borges, José Martí noted that the Irish in the U.S. were obedient and followed their priests’ designs even if they were not in agreement. Martí’s views of the Irish are a good complement to Borges. Other Latin American intellectuals, journalists, and politicians included the Irish in their writings. Statesmen Domingo F. Sarmiento and Bartolomé Mitre, contemporary writers Eduardo Galeano and Carlos Fuentes, laureate intellectuals Derek Walcott and Mario Vargas Llosa reflected different aspects of Irish culture in their texts.

The Sources of this Study

In Aristotle’s *Physics* (2, 192), a distinction is made between the objects created by nature and those that are *arte factus*, the result of human activity. Artefacts necessarily have an author. Moreover, cultural artefacts are products of human action that provide information about the society in which their authors and users live. Fictional narratives, press articles, emigrant letters, ballad lyrics, interviews, and other sources for this dissertation have been evaluated and selected according to their potential availability as cultural artefacts.

Consulted materials include published, archival, and contextual sources. Most of the manuscript materials have been obtained through correspondence with private collectors in

Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Ireland, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela, as well as during field research in Argentina (January-February 2003 and May 2004), Cuba (December 2006), Mexico (July 2009), and in Ireland (August 2002, June 2005, and June 2007). When possible, primary sources were used for cultural analysis, and I relied mostly on secondary sources for migration and transportation history.

Secondary and contextual sources, including published and unpublished works, fictional and semi-fictional texts, and press articles were obtained from archival research in Ireland and England, and through the inter-library loan service of various Swiss-based libraries. Networking with people in a number of countries provided the leads to, and location of, many of the source documents used in this study. Furthermore, these communications and the personal visits made during the field trips to Ireland and Latin America supplied a great deal of information through interviews and oral sources. Finally, the participation in and reading of papers at multidisciplinary conferences of Latin American Studies and Irish Studies provided a base for contribution of this work in reference to research in similar fields, as well as a broader theoretical framework.¹²

The major difficulty in obtaining sources for this research has been derived from the fact that very few works have been published. Moreover, there is a striking disproportion between the number of books and articles published about certain countries, events or persons, and the subject of Irish in Latin America taken as a whole. As an illustration of this phenomenon, I identified more than thirty books, articles, fiction works, website resources, documentaries and even a Hollywood movie about the San Patricio Battalion, compared to only one book (by

¹² Various papers read at the following conferences: AEDEI (Barcelona, May 2002), SLAS (Leiden, April 2004), ACIS (Liverpool, July 2004), CAIS (Maynooth, June 2005), SLAS (Nottingham, March 2006), ILA (Coleraine, June 2006), SILAS (Galway, June 2007), University of Zurich, Romanisches Seminar (Monte Verità, June 2008), SILAS (Morelia, Mexico, July 2009), and lectures at Feria del Libro (Buenos Aires, May 2004), City University of New York (New York, July 2005), Murray State University (Murray, Kentucky, July 2005), National University of Ireland (Galway, June 2007) and College of Charleston (Charleston, South Carolina, 2007).

Peadar Kirby) and two articles covering the Irish in Latin America in a comprehensive period and at a regional level.

Most of these sources are not easily available or are very difficult to access to, making rather problematical the condition of availability of cultural artefacts. For this reason I discuss the sources in further detail.

Published Sources

As it was mentioned above, very few books have been published on the subject of the Irish and Latin America. Most of these books correspond to the historiography of selected countries in the region, particularly Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay, and are generally draw on the methods of social, labour, local or family history. Other books are based on fiction.

Andrew Graham-Yooll, the former editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald* paper, noted that

there is an Anglo-Argentine literature. Not very strong, not very well known (and in some cases does not deserve to be), but there are some individuals who fit the classification of “British-Argentine” or, better still Southamericana, who are excellent and who have made their mark on the literature of a continent (Graham-Yooll 1999: 205).

The published sources used in this study may be classified within Latin Americana literature. Most of them are in English, though many are strongly influenced by the use of Spanish and Portuguese, and eventually there are words or expressions in the Irish language scattered throughout the text. They belong to popular genres in English-language fiction, i.e., short stories and fictionalised memoirs, but there are also novels and history-based fiction about different characters with social and political relevance in the region and in the Irish community.

You'll Never Go Back

Catherine Smyth, from Ballymahon, county Longford, followed other young men and women from this region of the Irish Midlands to Argentina in the 1880s. Once in the Río de la Plata, she worked in Buenos Aires and for *estancieros* as domestic servant.¹³ She married Tom Nevin (1853-1924), from county Galway, and they had three children.¹⁴ In about 1900 the second child, Kathleen Nevin, wrote *You'll Never Go Back*, which is the fictionalised memoirs of her mother Catherine Smyth ("Kate Connolly" in the book). *You'll Never Go Back* was completed by the younger sister Maria Winifred Nevin, and first published by Bruce Humphries in 1946 in Boston. A second edition was commissioned by the Longford-Westmeath Argentina Society and was published by The Cardinal Press (Maynooth, 1999). It has been published in Spanish as *Nunca regresarás*, translated by Alejandro P. Clancy (Buenos Aires, L.O.L.A., 2001).

Tales of the Pampas

William Bulfin (1862-1910) of Derrinlough, Birr, county Offaly, emigrated to Argentina in 1884. He worked at a ranch in Carmen de Areco, where he met his future wife, Anne O'Rourke. Bulfin contributed to, and later owned, *The Southern Cross* newspaper of Buenos Aires. Before returning to Ireland in 1902, he published *Tales of the Pampas* (London: Fisher

¹³ *Estanciero*, owner or large tenant of a ranch (*estancia*) in the pampas. *Estancia* comes from the Spanish verb *estar*, and is a ranch or large farm typically dedicated to cattle-breeding. South American *estancias* were a key element of social and economic development in the colonial and postindependence periods, and were perceived as a status symbol of the landed elites. *Estancias* were first recorded in 1514 to denote land divisions in Santo Domingo and in 1573 appeared in documents in Paraguay. *Estancia* labour is divided according to the type of production. In the traditional *estancias* of the Río de la Plata, the *estanciero* (owner or tenant) manages the business and is aided by the foreman or foremen, peons or cattle-hands, shepherds and *puesteros*, and at times joiners, butchers, bookkeepers, and other employees. Most Irish *estancias* in the second half of the nineteenth century were large sheep-farms dedicated chiefly to wool production.

¹⁴ Tom and Catherine Nevin were close friends in Buenos Aires of William Bulfin and his wife Annie O'Rourke.

& Unwin, 1900). His bicycle travel stories through Ireland were published as *Rambles in Eirinn* (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1907). He died on 1 February 1910 in Derrinlough.

Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* (1900) is a collection of short stories about the life of rural Irish settlers in the Argentine provinces, their work as shepherds and sheep-farmers, and their social interaction with immigrants from other origins and the local *gauchos*. The importance of *Tales of the Pampas* for this study is that the author was highly influential in the formation of an Irish identity in South America. A bilingual English-Spanish edition has been used for this thesis (Buenos Aires: L.O.L.A., 1997).

Irish Ballads

A series of songs related to Ireland and the Irish have been published in South American newspapers, particularly in the period 1875-1930. Some were published in *The Southern Cross* and *The Standard* of Buenos Aires, and others in *El Monitor de la Campaña* of Capilla del Señor.

The weekly paper *El Monitor de la Campaña* was published in 1871-1873 in Capilla del Señor, and was distributed in thirty-six towns in the province of Buenos Aires. Between 19 February and 27 May 1872 readers submitted ballad lyrics to the editor, signing with different pseudonyms. Anonymous songs and poems were published in *The Southern Cross*, the English-language weekly newspaper of the Irish-Argentine community since 1875, and *The Standard*, a daily published in Buenos Aires from 1861 by Dublin-born brothers Edward T. Mulhall and Michael G. Mulhall.

Brabazon Memoirs

Eduardo A. Coghlan published in 1981 *Andanzas de un Irlandés en el Campo Porteño 1845-1864* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas), an annotated translation in

Spanish of John Brabazon's *The Customs and Habits of the Country of Buenos Ayres from the year 1845*. The memoirs were handed to Coghlan in manuscript by Brabazon's descendants. John Brabazon came from a Protestant family of county Westmeath. He arrived in Argentina in 1845. He used everyday language to report his adventures and misfortunes in the Río de la Plata region, including the murder of his first wife. The English manuscript is held by descendants of John Brabazon in the U.S. and remains unpublished.

Tia Barbarita

Tia Barbarita (London: Faber & Faber, 1933) is the memoirs of Barbara Ann O'Loughlin (1855-1945), a Dublin-born woman married to a well-off Irish businessman, George Peart (1850-1930) of Kilkenny, who settled in the countryside of Entre Ríos, Argentina, to manage a large estate during about ten years.

The book was written in Puebla, Mexico, where the author and her husband spent most of their lives after living in Argentina and the U.S. According to C. J. Poore of the *New York Times*, "the luck of the Irish and the courage of the undefeatable have carried Tia Barbarita victoriously through high adventures all over the Western World. This, at the age of 80, is her first book, and few contemporary writers have as much to write about... Tia Barbarita is a book that no one who enjoys the record of a glamorous, gay, far-wandering life would want to miss" (21 January 1934).

Work and Play in the Argentine

This autobiography by John Macnie (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1925) depicts an Anglo-Irish officer who worked in Argentina and spent a good part of his leisure time hunting, horse racing, and playing foot-ball and polo. When in 1899 Macnie decided to try his fortune in Argentina, he worked in *estancias* in Entre Ríos and Santa Fe, and learned to drive cattle and

other agricultural trades, though his main interest were sports and socialising. A translation into Spanish by José Bernardo Wallace has been published in Venado Tuerto, Argentina (2007).

Archival Sources

The Press

The *Standard*, the *Southern Cross*, and the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* were the principal media of the English-speaking communities in Argentina and Brazil. The *Standard* (1861-1959) was founded by Edward Thomas Mulhall (1832-1899), who was joined latter by his brother Michael George Mulhall (1836-1900). The *Standard* was the first English-language daily published in South America, and the most important media among British, Irish and North American residents in Argentina, as well as with their families and friends in other countries. The *Standard* succeeded the first English-language paper in South America, the *British Packet and Argentine News*, which was published in 1826-1859. Although the *Standard* founders were Irish-born, they considered themselves English and supported the interests of the British community in South America. Increasingly, and especially since the Irish Land Wars in the 1880s, the *Standard* was seen as *shoneen* by the nationalist members of the Irish community.¹⁵ Its distribution among the Irish was significant until it lost circulation to the *Southern Cross* and, especially, to the U.S.-owned *Buenos Aires Herald*. A complete collection of the *Standard* is held at the Max Von Buch Library at Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires. Selected periods can be consulted in microfilm at the British Library in

¹⁵ *Shoneen* (from Irish *seónín*, from Seón “John” plus *-ín* diminutive suffix, also West Briton). It is a derogatory term for someone who prefers English attitudes, customs or lifestyle to Irish ones, or excessively sympathetic to Britain and its culture. Equivalent to *malinchista* in Mexico.

London (Colindale newspapers section), the U.S. Library of the Congress, Harvard, and other universities associated with the Centre for Research Libraries.

Initially designed as a weekly complement to the *Standard*, the *Southern Cross* was founded in 1875 by Patrick Joseph Dillon (1842-1889), a controversial Catholic priest who arrived in 1863 in Argentina to serve as the Irish chaplain in the southern districts of Buenos Aires province and the Falkland Islands. With an interest on the support that could be obtained from the landed elite of the Irish community, Fr. Dillon was an influential figure in its internal politics and later in the province of Buenos Aires and the country. Representing a group of conservative Irish and Irish-Argentine landowners, in 1880 Patrick J. Dillon was elected MP in Buenos Aires, and in 1883 senator to the national parliament. He launched the *Southern Cross* “to supply the want of an Irish and Catholic organ in the country” (circular of November 1874, in Marshall 1996: 13). Succeeding editors Michael Dinneen and William Bulfin imprinted a strong nationalist character to the *Southern Cross*, and since the editorship of Miguel Quinn – the first Argentine-born editor – the paper has been exclusively aimed at Irish and other Catholics. The *Southern Cross* continues to be published as a monthly bulletin addressed to the Irish community in South America. Its contents are eminently Catholic and Irish, with news from Ireland and Australia. In the offices in Buenos Aires there is a complete collection, and certain periods can be consulted in microfilm in Harvard and other universities in the U.S. and Ireland.

The *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, published between 1865 and 1884, was owned and edited by Irish-born William Scully (d. 1885). The paper was meant “to point out, and seek remedies for grievances and defects in the commercial and political intercourse of England and Brazil, and to promote a good understanding between the two countries” (first editorial, 7 February 1865). One of the main interests of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* was immigration in Brazil and,

like the Mulhall brothers in Buenos Aires, the editor also published the handbooks and maps useful for immigrants and business investors. The archives of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* are available on microfilm at the National Library in Rio de Janeiro.

Other papers consulted are *Fianna*, an anti-British illustrated periodical launched in 1912 by Patrick McManus (1864-1929), and local Irish newspapers such as the *Wexford People* and the *Westmeath Examiner*. Given the unavailability of these press sources from remote locations only selected issues have been consulted during archival searches in Buenos Aires, London, and Dublin. Further research on press sources could enhance the variety of attitudes exposed in this dissertation, though limited by the nature of publicly printed material.

Letters and Memoirs

Private correspondence and autobiography are important to identify attitudes among immigrants, and comprise the most important sources in this study. Particularly, the Murphy Letters (included in this thesis as Appendix C) represent a valuable material to understand the migrants' thoughts about the peoples in their home and receiving countries, and about their world view. The Murphy Letters are the most important collection of private correspondence identified about Irish emigration to Latin America to date.

Two autobiographies – which should be categorised as memoirs since in both cases they stress the people known and the events witnessed by the authors rather than concentrating on their own life – were procured in different communications with private collectors. Tom Garrahan Memoirs (1864-1912) have been held in the private collection of the Garrahan family in Buenos Aires, who sent them in photocopy. I transcribed and annotated, and further analysed the copy of the manuscript. Edward Robbins Memoirs (1800-1853) was sent by one of his descendants in San Pedro in a transcribed version. Both memoirs have been written in a mature age of their authors, and both seem to be based on written recollections or most likely

diaries (which did not survive). To this, I added the Diary of Roberto Murphy (1887-1934), an unusual source in which the author wrote five to ten lines almost every day during forty-seven years. The Diary of Roberto Murphy was scanned and published online by the Society for Irish Latin American Studies in cooperation with the University of Buenos Aires.

Apart from the Murphy collection, two main series of letters have been identified. The Pettit Letters (1864-1875) include the letters sent to John James Pettit in Australia by his many Argentine cousins. They were transcribed and sent by Andrew Pettit from Melbourne, Australia, together with other family documents and photographs of the period. The Murphy Letters (1844-1886) were found in a private collection in Wexford during a field trip to Ireland in August 2002, and borrowed from the owner for study. I catalogued, transcribed, and annotated these letters, and later the owner family made a donation to the Manuscripts and Rare Books Collection of the Society for Irish Latin American Studies (deposited at the Max von Buch Library of the Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires).

Contextual Sources

A variety of primary and secondary sources contributed to provide this research with the information about the context of Irish migration to Latin America. Printed books, unpublished works, family recollections, administrative documents, documentaries and interviews have proved crucial to extend the knowledge about the migrants, their migration patterns, and their cultures.

The complete list of sources is listed in the Bibliography. However, there are certain major works that are crucial to reconstruct the context in which the migrants were born, left Ireland, settled in Latin America and, eventually, re-migrated to other places. These materials are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

“Los Irlandeses en Argentina” and other works by Eduardo A. Coghlan

Buenos Aires lawyer and genealogist Eduardo A. Coghlan (1912-1997) collected historical sources related to Irish families in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. In addition to his legal profession (which included a career in the federal court of Buenos Aires from 1957 to 1978) Coghlan was president of the Argentine Genealogical Institute, vice-president of the Irish Argentine Federation, and member of the Irish Catholic Association. A temporary appointment at the Census Bureau allowed him to collect massive quantities of Irish records in Argentina, which he elaborated in the form of genealogical studies.

Eduardo Coghlan’s major work *Los Irlandeses en Argentina: su actuación y descendencia* (Buenos Aires: author’s edition, 1987) is a substantial genealogical catalogue. Throughout 963 pages, this book includes 4,348 Irish-born individuals who emigrated to Argentina, including their places of origin in Ireland and their families in Argentina up to the second, third and in some cases fourth generation. Its 3,661 entries are arranged alphabetically by male immigrant’s family name. Other contents include a chronicle of the Irish in Argentina, sketches of 413 livestock brands owned by Irish-Argentine ranchers, an essay titled “La Heráldica Irlandesa” by Félix F. Martín y Herrera, and 182 Irish coats of arms. The book also includes press clips, photographs, and documents. It was published privately, with contributions from the Cultural Relations Committee of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and private supporters (list on p. 959). The major sources used by the author include Census returns for Buenos Aires 1855 and Argentina 1869 and 1895;¹⁶ passenger lists and records available at Argentine Public Records Office (Archivo General de la Nación);¹⁷ the *British Packet*, the *Standard* and the *Southern Cross* English-language newspapers of Buenos Aires, the six volumes of Edward and Michael Mulhall’s *Handbook of the River Plate*

¹⁶ Census returns of Irish residents in Argentina were transcribed by Coghlan in his 1982 book (Tables II-IV). The information in his 1987 book is primarily originated in the census records.

¹⁷ Passenger lists with Irish arrivals to Buenos Aires were transcribed by Coghlan in his 1982 book (Table I).

(Buenos Aires: The Standard Press, 1868-1892); Seumas McManus's *The Story of the Irish Race* (New York: 1921); Martin Haverty's *The History of Ireland from the earliest period to the present time* (New York, 1857); John O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees or the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation* (New York, 1923); Edward MacLysght's *Irish families; their names, arms, and origins* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1972), and his *More Irish families* (Galway: O'Gorman, 1960); Thomas Murray's *The Story of the Irish in Argentina* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1919); Estevan Parle's *Registro de Marcas de Hacienda de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (Liverpool: Brown & Rawcliffe, 1885); and personal wills, church and civil records, family private collections, and personal interviews.

Other books and articles by Eduardo Coghlan are *Fundadores de la Segunda Época: los irlandeses* (Buenos Aires, 1967), *Los irlandeses* (Buenos Aires, 1970), "Orígenes y evolución de la colectividad hiberno-argentina" in *The Southern Cross: Número del Centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1975), the above-mentioned *Andanzas de un Irlandés en el Campo Porteño 1845-1864* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1981), and *El Aporte de los Irlandeses a la Formación de la Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1982).

Eduardo Coghlan's books and articles have been fundamental in the research for this dissertation. Given the relatively larger numbers of Irish emigrants to other destinations than Latin America and the frequent scarcity of primary sources recording individual data, it is a rare benefit to analyse information on an individual basis, i.e., including name, dates of birth, emigration, marriage and death, etc., for a significant number of emigrants. Coghlan meticulously recorded census returns with Irish family names for one provincial census (Buenos Aires 1855) and two national censuses (1869 and 1895), and compared and completed the basic census data with passenger lists, newspapers reports, and other sources cited above. I transcribed the information about Irish-born individuals from two of Coghlan's

works (1982 and 1987) and built databases of passengers and settlers, and compiled lists of the Irish in Argentina. During my research, these databases were continuously consulted to verify family or other information.

However, Coghlan's work presents various limitations to the study of Irish attitudes towards Latin America. There is a focus almost exclusively in the Río de la Plata and neglect of other regions and countries in Latin America with Irish immigration. Although Uruguay and, at a lesser extent, Brazil, Paraguay, and Chile are mentioned sporadically, the author did not consult archival sources from those or other countries in the region, and there is no mention whatsoever of countries in northern South America, Mexico or the Antilles.

A setback in Coghlan's books is his particular view that persons bearing a traditional Irish family name are Irish and those with other family names are not Irish.¹⁸ Therefore, emigrants to Argentina who were born in Ireland and had English or other surnames (eg. Thompson, Pearce, Williams) were rarely included in Coghlan's studies. Conversely, people with Irish names who were born in the United States, Canada, Spain, and other places were included in his books, in the assumption that they were Irish (eg. Cullen, O'Donnell, Lynch).

It is worth mentioning the neglect of female migrants in Coghlan's work. His family entries are organised by male immigrant and according to patriline following the idea that families are formed belonging to father's lineage. Most of the biographical information provided refers to the male members of each family, being women relegated to secondary roles. With the possible exception of a number of landowning widows who are described as successful managers of their *estancias* and Catholic nuns, the vast majority of women in Coghlan's books hold subsidiary responsibilities to those of their fathers, brothers, husbands,

¹⁸ As any national identity, the Irish is difficult to define. A discussion about Irish identity and Irishness is included in Chapter Two.

and sons. Thus, the story of thousands of Irish women who worked as domestic servants, teachers, tutors and nurses in South America is almost absent from Coghlan's narrative.

A more serious limitation with this source is that Coghlan seldom considered return migration and re-migration. Later authors estimate that in the nineteenth century, one out of every two Irish immigrants to Latin America returned to Ireland or re-migrated to other countries (particularly the U.S., but also England, Australia, Canada, and South Africa). If we add the period 1900-1930, this rate may be higher. The result of overlooking return migration and re-migration is that the total number of Irish immigrants in the region may have been significantly underestimated. Coghlan considered a total of about 20,000 migrants only in Argentina, but the real number would have been between at least 50,000. On the other hand, and more important than the quantity of migrants, reading Coghlan's book one gets the impression that Irish migration to Latin America was flourishing and successful for the majority of the immigrants. Of course this is not true and it represents a simplistic view of the social complexities of relations among different segments in the immigrant population and the other social groups.

Therefore, the analysis of attitudes based in Coghlan's works may be reduced to, and biased by, a distinct social worldview typical of the Argentine bourgeoisie in the mid-twentieth century. This perspective is also influenced by Catholic nationalism prevalent in Irish and Irish-U.S. American discourses, and by the traditional and sometimes reactionary views of the South American landed governing elites who struggled to maintain their social privileges over the most recent immigrants from other parts of Europe and the world, and during ideological attacks to their rigid social structure.¹⁹

¹⁹ A circumstantial example of this ideology is the treatment given by the author to two victims of political violence during the 1970s Argentine Dirty War. While the death of the manager of Córdoba IKA-Renault car maker Ricardo Luis Goya is described by Coghlan as "murder" (*asesinado*) by terrorists in 1974 (Coghlan 1987:

Other contextual sources have been used in this dissertation, which are listed in the Bibliography. However, taking into account their limitations, Eduardo Coghlan's books have been fundamental to provide the necessary family and local history context to the manuscript sources, especially the emigrant letters.

Conclusion

This chapter states the objective of the thesis and includes an analysis of the sources used during the research. The Irish in Latin America represent a relatively minor migration both in Latin American and Irish terms. The sources about the Irish in the region and their families encompass a variety of references that represent the values and attitudes of diverse segments among the immigrants. The sources examined in this thesis depict recurrent behaviours among the Irish and in this way may be considered cultural artefacts. However, the press should be further analysed in order to have a more complete notion of these behaviours. The study of published and unpublished references, including fiction, short stories, poetry, autobiography, the press, emigrant letters, and different aspects of popular culture, are a viable corpus to study the culture of the Irish in Latin America.

387), Fr. Alfredo Patricio Kelly's brutal murder by a military squad in 1976 is portrayed as "robbery" (*asaltado*) at St. Patrick's church of Buenos Aires (541).

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE/S IN LATIN AMERICA AND IRELAND

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of the major discourses that have influenced the field of Irish-Latin American relations and their performance in different types of “texts”. Many of the similarities between Ireland and Latin America are purely coincidental or, more frequently, result of the imagination. However, the beliefs of the people who read and interpret the facts and fiction of the two areas have common grounds. For instance, the attacks to and the defence of a social structure hierarchically based on the possession of means of production seems to be a recurrent value both in fictional and historical works in this area. Furthermore, non-literary arts and activities like visual arts, sports, toponymy and education are especially connoted by these discourses.

An account of all what was done and is being done in Irish Latin American studies would be lengthy and tedious. With the intention to catalogue the diversity and heterogeneity of writing and research work, I develop a taxonomy of the different discourses that can be identified – openly or between the lines – in a number of books and articles. Therefore, starting with social classifications, I cover studies, fiction, private writing and journalistic work and further itemize their qualities using discourse cultural parameters. The implication of this taxonomy is the organisation of the future work in a more efficient manner. This field should not be considered a particular geographic specialisation of Irish Diaspora Studies – itself a part of Irish Studies – or a section within Latin American migration studies. Research on the Irish in Latin America represents an opportunity to analyse aspects in literature,

history, geography, linguistics, music, anthropology, and other disciplines, and to cross intellectual borders in order to go beyond the established limits of the academic canon.²⁰

Unlikely Partners: Ireland and Latin America

In a lecture of the Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) held in 2006 at the University of Essex, Richard Gott observed that “thousands of research hours are devoted to Blacks and Indians and *mestizos*, but relatively few scholars examine the whites” (Gott 2006: 275). The veteran journalist and scholar recognised that certain research has been conducted about the Welsh in Argentina, the Germans in Chile and Brazil, “and the Irish wherever they crop up”, but little attention has been focused on “the prolonged white settler struggle to maintain their political control over societies in which they were so dramatically outnumbered” (275).

Often viewed as a curiosity, a counter-example, or even a minor exception to the rule, the Irish in Latin America has been studied from diverse perspectives which are not completely elucidated. The hypothesis suggested in this chapter is that there is a common ground for the various (sometimes contrasting) narratives of Irish-Latin American relations and, consequently, there is a more balanced approach to incorporate the many contributions of history, literature, and other academic disciplines in the study of human connections between the two geographic spaces.

²⁰ By “Irish Latin American Studies” I refer to research conducted on the Irish in Latin America, the Latin Americans in Ireland, or on any aspect of relations between Ireland and Latin America, regardless of the discipline or method used in the study. I do not limit this term to Latin American Studies in Ireland, or to Irish Studies in Latin America. For an excellent report on the status of Latin American Studies in Ireland see Mary N. Harris’s “Irish Historical Writing on Latin America, and on Irish Links with Latin America” (Harris 2006).

Paradigms, Discourses, and Narratives

Confronted to the task of classifying different approaches to cultural phenomena, I had recourse to a number of helpful theoretical concepts. The methodology to create such taxonomy may vary widely between authors and perspectives, but any classification uses categories and parameters. Categories (“taxons”) establish a hierarchical arrangement, while parameters are used to pigeonhole individuals together in one category or another. Taken an example from botanics, trees may be classified in phyla, classes, families, genres, species, etc. (*categories*), according to the shape of their leaves, flowers, fruits, and other anatomic parts (which are the *parameters*). Indeed, the following arrangement can be disputed, and both categories and parameters could be improved. Their goal is to develop a more critical view of the cultural production of the Irish in Latin America.

Paradigm, discourse, and narrative are three categories in which one may arrange the diverse approaches to the study of cultural phenomena. Within this context, parameters are more difficult to identify, and are less related to cultural objects than to cultural practises. For instance, the pre-Columbian pyramids in Yucatán or Teotihuacan may be studied as archaeological objects, including descriptions of its frightening stone sculptures and superimposed layers and strata, or as spaces for a cult, i.e., the series of human practises associated with that space. The object “permits (almost) any interpretation: no one can, definitively, eject any of them. The interpretation of practise, however, has to take account of men and their concrete intentions” (Lienhard 1997: 187). Examples of cultural parameters are class, gender, ethnicity, sexual identity, religion, etc., and their analysis allows classifications in the categories mentioned above.

The concept of paradigm was developed by Thomas Khun in his *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Beyond its semantic denotation of “pattern” or “model”, in the context of

philosophy of science paradigm means a totality of world view (*Weltanschauung*), including the beings – and no-beings – of that world (metaphysics), their knowledge (epistemology), and the associated praxis and methods (ethic). A paradigm is described as the set of experiences, beliefs, and values affecting the way an individual perceives reality and responds to that perception. The “paradigm shift” from Newtonian mechanics to Albert Einstein’s relativity is the best example of the concept of paradigms.²¹ Paradigms allow a variety of theories (discourses) – even opposite ones – all of them accepting a given ideological context. The positivist paradigm includes different discourses, like acculturation and hybridism. Very seldom individuals have an effect in paradigms, which are the result of the cumulated beliefs by numbers of people during a relatively long time (usually, generations). For this reason, paradigms are not challenged but assumed without questioning.

The origin of discourse is to be found primarily in linguistics, associated to the arrangement of speech, arguments and words. According to A. H. Gardiner (1992), the discourse is a human activity in which the speaker communicates with an interlocutor using verbal signs organised according to a shared code. While the language unit is the word, the discourse unit is the utterance. On an ideological level of discourse, Mikhail Bakhtin introduced the polyphonic dimension. The dialogical character represents a continuous action-reaction flow in various social hierarchies. Within the borders of an individual construction “we hear the accents of two different voices” (Bakhtin 1978: 158). As a result of this, a diversity of voices may be perceived in a single speech, and those voices follow certain underlying discourses. In the context of this thesis, I understand “discourse” as an ideological series of values and beliefs latent under the linguistic organisation of a text.

²¹ Although Khun built on the paradigm theory exclusively for natural sciences, other authors like M.L. Handa introduced the “social paradigm” (1986), which are widely used in social sciences.

The following and smallest category is the “narrative”, which comprises the spoken or written text (or any other communicable representation, visual, musical or other), describing a sequence of actual or fictional facts. What distinguishes a narrative from the flux of raw experience is that in a narrative (or story), a selection of events is made so as to suggest some relationship among them. To build a narrative means to establish some connection between a series of incidents. Narratives represent discourses, and discourses are conceived within a certain paradigm.

A succinct account of the major cultural paradigms and discourses prevalent in Ireland and Latin America are presented in the following section.

A Cultural Paradigm and Two Theories in Synchronic Perspective

The major force that has influenced Latin American cultural discourses may be schematised under an intellectual paradigm, positivism, and two major theories, acculturation and hybridism. They are not considered chronologically – their representations occurred in different periods – and diverse discourses belonging to one or the other appear simultaneously.

Scientific positivism was firstly elaborated by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) as a religious humanism, and it was certainly the most important intellectual power affecting the formation of a Latin American social ethos in the mid-nineteenth century. Positivists held that “knowledge based on and derived from natural phenomena and their spatiotemporal properties was superior to assumptions derived from theology and metaphysics. [...] Social

and political phenomena could be grouped under and understood by scientific laws” (Miller 2004: 103).²²

A variety of discourses developed under the positivist paradigm. The first and most influential among them, the biological worldview, has been fundamental in the construction of both Latin American and Irish identities in the second half of the nineteenth century. The racial or ethnic lineage, including physical characteristics like skin colour, conformation and language, represented the foremost approach associated with the post-colonial period in both places, particularly with the efforts of the colonised peoples to shape a national self as opposed to the coloniser otherness.

The material concept of “race” was adapted to a series of racial elaborations of the so-called national character, and an aesthetic of cultural ethnic production in the form of stylistic behaviours associated with perceived races. In Ireland, within an aggregate society evolving from Milesian, Celtic, Norse, Norman, Anglo-Saxon, Scot-Irish, and other ethnic groups, nationalism did not (and could not) have a strong basis in language or culture. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, political nationalism came to be associated with cultural revivalism. Movements like the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) “ensured that a commitment to cultural revival became a central element in nationalist ideology” (Connolly 1998: 379), and focused on a restricted vision of Irish ethnicity.²³

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the European-centred discourse about Latin America was shaped by the self-perceived superiority of the British, French, and other European “races” compared with the indigenous Amerindian peoples, the African population,

²² The words included in the Brazilian flag, *Ordem e Progresso* (order and progress) illustrate the positivist belief that humanity is ever-evolving.

²³ To have a sense of the importance of ethnicity among the Irish, a ban excluding from the GAA anyone who watched or played “imported” games (e.g. soccer, rugby-football, lawn tennis and golf) was lifted only in 1971. Even in 1998 members of the British security forces were excluded from the GAA (Connolly 1998: 212).

and their blend with those of southern Europe, especially, Portugal and Spain. The English-language press, travel accounts, fiction, and scientific and pseudo-scientific books about Latin America were plagued with references to skin colour and physical characteristics typical of the major Latin American ethnic origins, which were associated in those sources with moral weaknesses, limitation of understanding, and low inclination to work and to achieve “progress”, “improvement”, or economic “independence”. Plain racism was apparent in English-language books, like in Mulhall’s *Handbook of the River Plate*:

Beware of bathing [in Cape Verde], as sharks are numerous, although they seem to take no notice of negroes. [...] Passengers very often throw a silver coin into the water, which the natives dive after and catch before it reaches the bottom, the water being perfectly clear (Mulhall 1892: 69).

In the same fashion, the biological discourse in the Americas was firstly shaped by pseudo-scientific theories of racial purity. From the fierce racism and derision of miscegenation typical in Domingo F. Sarmiento and other authors of mid-nineteenth century Argentina,²⁴ to the more positive perception but idealistic of the *Americana* race imagined by Simón Bolívar, José Martí, and José Vasconcelos in Venezuela, Cuba and Mexico respectively, there was a shift from physical to cultural *mestizaje*.²⁵

The concept of *mestizaje* or *mestiçagem* (miscegenation) as the differentiating element of Latin American cultures became frequent among local intellectuals in the twentieth century, and helped to build a self-conscience of uniqueness that was built on plurality. *Mestizaje* provided “a tool for re-interpreting the mixture of peoples and cultures not as contamination or dilution, but as a felicitous conjoining of forces and characteristics” (Miller 2004: 15). At

²⁴ Sarmiento’s book *Facundo* called for the extermination of “savage” indigenous and black peoples and their replacement by immigrants of Northern Europe.

²⁵ Although the white settler ideology has prevailed in Latin America over the past two centuries, “there has also been a tradition of dissent. Some members of the white elite, notably at the very moment of independence, sought a wider and more inclusive definition of nationhood” (Gott 2006: 276). Prevailing among them was Simón Bolívar and his tutor and friend Simón Rodríguez, perhaps the most enlightened figure of this time.

the same time it served to postulate the equality – while hiding the inequality – of the groups composing the different national societies, i.e., “the product and the instrument of a racist ideology” (Lienhard 1997: 189). While still sound in North America – where the myth of the “melting pot” has been revitalized by politicians and scholars of Chicano studies – mestizaje is challenged in Latin America, at least in the avant-gardist intellectual circles. As early as 1987, the Mexican poet, essayist and playwright Guillermo Gómez Peña uncovered through irony the hyperbolic use of mestizaje:

I see a whole generation
freefalling towards a borderless future
incredible mixtures beyond sci-fi
cholo-punks, pachuco krishnas
Irish concheros, high-tech mariachis
Indian rockers and Anglosandinistas.
I see them all
wandering around
a continent without a name (Gómez Peña 1993: 74).

Genealogy (euphemistically called “family history” by those influenced by the positivist paradigm) is another branch within the biological discourse, and it is significant for the popular history of the Irish and other groups in Latin America bearing a remarkable interest in differentiating themselves from the native populations of the region. Kinship provides the “scientific” elements not only to establish connections between individuals, but also to explain their hereditary characteristics and, especially, their “natural” inclusion in certain social groups which are usually considered superior.

Acculturation

Conceived by North American scholars and later applied within the context of U.S. immigration, the theory of acculturation refers to the process of complex cultural transmutations produced through the contact among peoples of diverse origins with a

common goal of adapting to a dominant society.²⁶ Acculturation is connected to integration, assimilation, Manifest Destiny and the melting pot, which forcibly represent the perceived rightful progression for immigrants towards their receiving society.²⁷ There is an *a priori* schema in the acculturation paradigm, which assumes a fundamental oppositional dualism between traditional (frequently indigenous) and modern (frequently European) cultures. Instead of considering cultures as series of practises realised by human beings, acculturation classifies cultures as entities or objects. Far from demonstrating the process of cultural interaction with all its contradictions and unknowns, the theory of acculturation “ends up being a discourse of *assimilation* – of *folk* sectors opposing to ‘modern’ urban culture” (Lienhard 1997: 190, original emphasis).

Oppression, compensation, and contribution discourses were opportunely described by Patrick O’Sullivan within the acculturation framework of the migrant relation with the original and receiving societies. Although this way of thinking is inscribed within the context of genre theory, it should be acknowledged that it is rooted in literary studies. O’Sullivan applied it to the post-colonial environment of Irish emigration and their different historical productions.²⁸

The primary emphasis of the oppression discourse is on the evils of the villain literary character. Whether a colonial power or a cruel master, the oppressor (villain) is the principal source and the cause of activity for the oppressed (victim), which is understood as pure reaction (e.g. revolt or emigration). For example, under the oppression discourse the Great

²⁶ The classic form of acculturation was elaborated by Robert Redfield for communities in the southeast of Mexico (*The Folk Culture of Yucatán*, 1941).

²⁷ Even if convenient from a taxonomic point of view, pigeonholing acculturation under the paradigm may be seen erratic from a historical point of view, and would be better classified as a positivist discourse. However, the approach of acculturation and its applications evolved to sophisticated forms.

²⁸ O’Sullivan acknowledges Gerda Lerner and her categorisation of women’s history, which he applies to Irish migration studies.

Famine of 1845-1849 is considered the result of British mistreatment and neglect of the Irish, who did not emigrate but instead were involuntarily exiled to the Americas and elsewhere. Likewise, economic distress in Latin America is measured as a consequence of powerful imperialist (or globalisation) forces that control the regional markets.²⁹ According to O’Sullivan, in certain studies of Irish migration this way of understanding “conspires with the oppressor to let the oppressor shape our agenda” (O’Sullivan 1997: xviii). For this reason, the oppression discourse leaves little room to acculturation of the oppressed, and moves onto two directions towards compensation or contribution.

The compensation discourse focuses on the achievements of the oppressed – the victim – to compensate for his or her failures under the oppressor’s control. The numerous success stories of Irish soldiers, missionaries, professionals or ranchers in Latin America are built with the underlying purpose to balance lack of achievement in Ireland and to demonstrate that failure “had not to do with some intrinsic inability within the group or the individual – as the oppressor asserts” (xix). Therefore, the compensation discourse tends to focus on well-known people, and their “extraordinary” lives (usually on an economic sense), and to efface the lives of thousands of “ordinary” people who did not achieve high standards of success. A significant illustration of compensation discourse is the frequent absence of return migration and re-migration narratives within the context of Irish migration to Latin America.³⁰

The contribution discourse is closely associated with acculturation, and its accent is not on the victim but on the hero’s role. In the context of European emigration to Latin America, the Irish narratives are massively inscribed in the contribution discourse. Works like Coghlan’s *El*

²⁹ Dependency theory illustrates the oppression discourse in social sciences and economics.

³⁰ For the Irish in Argentina, one of the most serious consequences of the compensation discourse is the estimation of just 10,000 Irish emigrants in the nineteenth century instead of the 45,000 to 50,000 who actually went to that country. This is (partially) the result of considering only those who stayed in the country (the “successful” settlers), therefore neglecting thousands who returned home or re-migrated to the U.S., Australia, England and other destinations (McKenna 1994: 187).

aporte de los irlandeses a la formación de la Nación Argentina clearly fall within this category, and are connected with the intention to make the Irish playing a significant role in the construction and development of their receiving societies. When the elites in these societies (particularly in Latin America but also in other formerly colonised regions) were intensively working to build a national identity, the Irish and other immigrant communities were forced to demonstrate their allegiance and to contribute to the national ethos. While the space referred to in the oppression and compensation discourses is the place of origin (Ireland), the spatial reference of the contribution discourse is the destination country.

O'Sullivan recognises that there is a continuum among the three discourses. Indeed, it is difficult to identify narratives that belong exclusively to one or the other. Oppression, compensation and contribution are present in different layers of the same historical or literary sources. However, there are time and space factors involved. The closer the narrative is to the original emigrant, the stronger will be oppression and compensation discourses. Among the successive generations born in the destination country contribution discourse predominates.

Hybridism

In the 1990s a further paradigm has been proposed by scholars of Latin American cultural history. The paradigm of cultural plurality or transculturation – coined as hybridism by Néstor García Canclini – is increasingly disassociated from the ethnic debate. This author observes that hybridization “includes diverse intercultural mixtures – not only the racial ones to which mestizaje tends to be limited – and because it permits the inclusion of modern forms of hybridization better than does ‘syncretism’, a term that almost always refers to religious fusions or traditional symbolic movements” (García Canclini 1990: 11). Hybridism is thus intercultural, not interracial.

There are three distinct processes in the development of hybridism: the breaking and mixing of the cultural structures, the deterritorialization of symbolic processes, and the expansion of “impure” genres. In colonial Ireland, for instance, one would imagine that Gaelic, Old English, Anglo-Irish and other cultural structures were broken up and mixed, with their symbolic processes being reconfigured in new formats and settings, and the so-called impure genres expanded to the larger society. However, one should also consider that, compared to Latin America – a region where the impure genres are clearly identifiable for their intense expansionist energy throughout diverse social groups and levels – Ireland experienced a less vigorous hybridization process.³¹

Since hybridism involves the coexistence of different belief systems or discourses in mutual communication, Bakhtin’s dialogism is implicitly alluded to in García Canclini’s idea of cultural hybridization. Hegemonic and subaltern practises are recognisable in the plurality of social voices of historical, literary or other forms of discourse. A variety of ethnicities, classes, origins, genres, and cultures are implied in the narratives of historians and writers, perhaps with a stronger emphasis in Latin America than in Ireland and other places in Europe. One should not be deceived by the musical analogy of the choir. The pluralistic characteristic of these discourses does not mean that they are completely undirected and left to the whimsical trends of anarchist forces. There are directions commanded by hegemonic levels of “voice”, as well as reactions and counter-trends. Even if contemporary studies in social sciences seldom consider “class societies” as an oversimplification and schematic perspective of social stratification, this does not mean that inequality and domination did not or do not exist.

³¹ Furthermore, a comparative study between present-day Irish and Latin American hybridization processes should include primarily Eastern European cultural structures in Ireland, and Latin American expatriate communities in Europe and North America.

A sociolinguistic form of the hybridism paradigm, *diglossia*, may be useful to study the diversity of cultural discourses in connection to Ireland and Latin America in particular, and in general to the Irish Diaspora. Diglossia refers

to the coexistence of two linguistic norms of unequal social prestige at the heart of the social formation. [...] The norm “A” (high) corresponds to the most prestigious language, that of the dominant or hegemonic sectors, of the state apparatus and its dependencies, of “élite culture”. Norm “B” (low), on the other hand, refers to the – basically oral – means of verbal communication of the subaltern, popular or marginalized sectors. In the situation of diglossia created by violent conquest, the antagonism between the two norms becomes particularly forceful (Lienhard 1997: 193).

Implicit in diglossia is an asymmetric practise of bilingualism. The speakers of the subaltern norm are forced in their contact with the representatives of power to make use of the “high” norm, though the hegemonic sector may choose freely the best linguistic norm in its communication with the subaltern sectors. A Gaelic peasant communicating with his English landlord must speak in the English language in order to be heard and understood, though the master may choose to answer in English or, demagogically, in Irish. Therefore, “the practice of one norm or the other does not depend only, then, on the ‘culture’ of the individual or group, but also on the political characteristics of the communicative situation (the respective hierarchy of the interlocutors) and of the objectives that move those participating in the process of communication” (194).

For the Irish immigrants in a linguistic space other than the English-speaking imperial territories and independent countries, there were new components of diglossia. Norm “A” was replaced by the local language of the governing elites – Spanish or Portuguese in most of Latin America – while Norm “B” included the languages of indigenous peoples and the African-American argot. A third element, Norm “C” was the English spoken by the

immigrants, which developed in a powerful segment of Norm “A”.³² Therefore, the children of the Irish immigrants born in Latin America, who spoke English as their mother tongue and were taught Spanish or Portuguese in the school or as adults, were situated in a dominant position towards the speakers of Norm “B”.

This particular linguistic and cultural situation of the Irish in Latin America vis-à-vis the local population affected their self-image and attitudes towards migration. Differing from the generalised self-perceptions of the Irish in the U.S., emigrants who perceived themselves as exiles were more the exception than the rule in Latin America. The assessment of their new countries was frequently expressed in positive terms. “This country has got quite a bright appearance” (William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 July 1862), “delightful country” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1864), or “the best country under the sun” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1864) was the language included in private letters sent to Ireland.

The diglossia of the Irish migrant group is thus associated with the world view of the “diaspora”. Diaspora implies voluntary migration, or a self-motivated and opportunistic journey – a very different one from “Hegira”, which could be used to signify forced migration and exile.³³ Of course this does not mean that migrants needed to be inscribed either in diasporic or hegiran discourses, but precisely because when emigrating they are within the context of diglossia, their cultural production is diasporic and hegiran at the same time.³⁴

³² The majority of the Irish emigrants to this region came from areas in Ireland in which English outweighed the Irish language. For this reason, there were few native speakers of Irish in Latin America, with the possible exceptions of a number of families from Clare and western Cork (for them, a Norm “D” would apply).

³³ Originally, *Diaspora* was used by the Ancient Greeks to refer to citizens who settled in a conquered land with the purpose of colonisation to assimilate the territory into the empire. *Hegira* – or *Hijra* – refers to the emigration of Muhammad and his followers to the city of Medina in AD 622 (i.e., the first year of the Islamic calendar), fleeing from Mecca’s leading tribe, the Quraysh.

³⁴ This double discourse is in the heart of the original idea developed by Kerby Miller in his comprehensive study *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). Miller has been frequently misunderstood as a simplistic opposition of extremes (emigrants *or* exiles), but his hypothesis should be interpreted as underlying levels of discourses (emigrants *and* exiles, i.e., emigrants who behave as exiles according to the circumstances).

A journey through the cultural taxonomic categories, and a description (inevitably schematic) of the major cultural paradigms in Latin America and Ireland were necessary to introduce the most important discourses in Irish Latin America. In the following section I list the core discourses of the Irish in Latin America that attempted to represent their world view (real or fictional), and provide some particular examples.

Irish Latin American Discourses

The following list includes the major discourses among and about the Irish in Latin America. It is not a complete record, and several narratives are closer to local worldviews in the diverse countries of the region than to a shared perspective among Irish-born people. It is important to remark that authors writing about the Irish in Latin America may have been influenced by several of these discourses, although in every period there is normally one dominant discourse. As a chronological indication, periods are included for every discourse. However, works from later periods are considered in specific discourses, on account of the continuum that links them together.

Anglo-ethnic (1800s-1870s)

This discourse is dominated by the positivist paradigm and its biological/racial viewpoint, and includes scientific and pseudo-scientific accounts, observations and stories about Latin American peoples, geography, and economic opportunities for migrants and foreign (particularly British) investors. The racial emphasis is in the superiority of the English culture relative to the Latin American and Hispanic peoples. Although primarily written in English and published by English-speaking authors, the Anglo-ethnic discourse also inspired Latin American, North American, and authors from continental Europe.

Some prominent examples of this discourse include the works of William Scully in Brazil, founder and editor of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* newspaper of Rio de Janeiro. In Argentina, Dublin-born brothers Edward Thomas Mulhall and Michael George Mulhall edited the *Standard* daily newspaper, which was published during almost a century from 1861 to 1959. The *Standard* was customary reading for thousands of British and Irish settlers in Buenos Aires and the Argentine provinces, as well as in Uruguay and Paraguay. Its copies or clippings frequently accompanied private letters addressed to family members in the British Isles, the U.S., Canada, Australia, and dominions of the British Empire.

Thomas Joseph Hutchinson's works about Argentina and Peru are another example of Anglo-ethnic discourse. Born in county Wexford, Hutchinson (c.1802-1885), a physician and diplomat, was the British consul in Fernando Po (present-day Equatorial Guinea), Rosario in Argentina, Montevideo in Uruguay, and Callao in Peru. His works include several scientific essays, accounts of explorations in Africa and South America, and travel books, among them *Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings: with Extracts from a Diary of the Salado Exploration in 1862 and 1863* (1865), and *Two Years in Peru, with Exploration of its Antiquities* (1873). Hutchinson's attitude towards Latin Americans may be recognised in a private letter written in French to Juan María Gutiérrez, vice-chancellor at University of Buenos Aires: "It is already two months since I met with Mr. Thompson in Montevideo, and he still did not send me the map of that Republic. The terrible *mañana* must be abolished before these republics may progress" (Hutchinson to Gutiérrez, Rosario, 6 April 1867, in Archivo Gutiérrez C. 5 C. 17 L. 11 C. 3, Biblioteca del Congreso de la Nación).³⁵

³⁵ "Il y a presque deux mois, depuis que j'ai vu monsieur Thompson à Montevideo et encore il ne m'a pas envoyé le plan de cette République. Le terrible *mañana* faut être aboli avant que ces pays peuvent progresser" (Hutchinson, who at this time did not write in Spanish, probably used the French language because Dr. Gutiérrez could not read in English).

Other works by Irish authors inscribed in the Anglo-ethnic discourse were William MacCann's *Two Thousand Miles' Ride through the Argentine Provinces, etc.* (1853),³⁶ John Brabazon memoirs,³⁷ the more recent *Work and Play in the Argentine* by J. Macnie (1925) or *Tia Barbarita: Memoirs of Barbara Peart* by Barbara Peart (1933).

Irish-ethnic (1880s-1920s)

As a reaction to British colonialism, the Irish-ethnic discourse in Latin America is ancillary to Irish nationalism in Ireland and North America. Restricted to places with relatively large Irish population in the region, Irish-ethnic oriented authors set apart from the previous discourse through the content of their writing, though using the same vehicles to reach their audiences. Professional or self-made journalists were the norm in this discourse, which expressed the intentions of powerful segments of Irish life in Ireland and other places.

Among them, William Bulfin was fundamental in the conception of a diasporic Irish identity in Latin America. Born in county Offaly from a distinguished family, Bulfin emigrated with his elder brother to Buenos Aires in 1882 to work in sheep-farming. He met his future wife Anne O'Rourke at John Dowling's *estancia* in Carmen de Areco, and started publishing articles in the *Southern Cross*, which he eventually edited and owned. This weekly paper has been founded in 1875 by Fr. Patrick J. Dillon to cater for the needs of the Catholic Irish population in Argentina. Until the arrival of editors Michael Dinneen and his successor William Bulfin, the *Southern Cross* had maintained a neutral position towards the British, less confrontational than collaborative. With a subtle and clever communication strategy, Bulfin associated the Irish to the native Argentines – the *gaucho* – so as to set them apart from the

³⁶ There is no definitive evidence about William MacCann's place of birth. A private genealogical search conducted in Dublin and London shows that he may have belonged to an Irish family resident in Liverpool.

³⁷ Published in Spanish translation and edited by Eduardo A. Coghlan, *Andanzas de un Irlandés en el Campo Porteño 1845-1864* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1981). The original manuscript in English remains unpublished.

British. Hammering on the idea of a distinct Irish nation, with its language, tradition, culture and ethos, he advocated for Irish national rights through his self-possessed prose in editorials and short stories published in the paper. Two of his works were published in book format, among them the short stories in *Tales of the Pampas* (1900), which best epitomise the values of the Irish-ethnic discourse.

The biography of Thomas Murray (1871-1959), pioneering historian of the Irish in Argentina remains obscure. Born probably in 1871 in Kilbeggan, county Westmeath, his family emigrated to North America when he was a child, and received a quality education. Murray went to Argentina, where he worked as teacher or journalist. In 1913 he went back to the U.S. where he worked on the publication of his *Story of the Irish in Argentina*. The book appeared in 1919 with a major publisher of Irish and Catholic titles, P.J. Kenedy & Sons of New York. The author returned to Buenos Aires in 1924 and tried to promote his work through the Irish press, but the book was received unsympathetically by the critics. Murray's research relied heavily on English-language newspapers published in Buenos Aires (*The British Packet*, *The Standard*, and *The Southern Cross*), as well as in religious communications and pamphlets, records of Irish-Argentine associations and, presumably, on the author's several connections among the members of the community. The book is strongly influenced by the Irish nationalist revival typical of the 1910s, closely connected with religious discourse in contemporary Ireland. The assessment of William Bernard Ready, librarian and professor of bibliography in the U.S. and Canada, is rather disparaging: "Murray, silly Murray, for his book, though informative, is a silly book" (Ready 1966: 61). Ready goes on to point out that Murray was "a journalist, a rabid Anglophobe, and in all his writing he constantly is bemoaning the apathy of the Irish-Americanos to the English

treatment of their compatriots back home” (61).³⁸ Indeed, in Murray’s book there is a remarkable paucity of archival references, and the contents are difficult to follow in chronological order. *The Story of the Irish in Argentina* remained up to 2006 the only published history book (in English) about the Irish in Argentina.

Patrick (Padraig) McManus was born in Mountcharles, county Donegal. He went to South America and settled as a wealthy *estanciero* of Venado Tuerto and publisher of the radical illustrated paper *Fianna* from 1910 to 1912. Patrick McManus was the brother of Seamus McManus, author of *The Story of the Irish Race* (1938), and was married to a sister of William Bulfin’s wife.

A later branch of Irish-ethnic discourse is the Catholic approach to the culture of Irish Latin America in the mid-twentieth century. Argentine clerics James Ussher and John Gaynor, and at a lesser extent, the prestigious Jesuit historian Guillermo Furlong, helped to build a perceived prominent role for Irish church men and women like Fr. Anthony Fahy and the Sisters of Mercy. Peadar Kirby’s useful research on Irish Catholic missionaries in Latin America (1992) includes a further elaboration of the work of Ussher, Gaynor, Furlong and others.

³⁸ Ready’s assessment of the Irish in South America, particularly those in Argentina, as well as of Latin Americans, is not less unsympathetic and comes closer to the traditional Anglo-Saxon view of the Irish in North America. “The Irish were regarded as such law-abiding, non-political settlers that the Irish seemed to become so amazed at this description of themselves that they really seemed to have so behaved” (Ready 1966: 60). “Their neutrality in the wars and their cynical opportunism in times like these, their acceptance of Peron [*sic*] and his woman Evita is an Argentinian attitude, it is as Americanos that men like [Argentine President Edelmiro] Farrell attempt the coup d’état. The Irish seems to have been bred out of them” (61). Ready generalises describing the Irish in Latin America as “money-grubbing bourgeoisie, which apparently is what they are”. In the mood of the contribution discourse, Ready argues that they “contributed little to the South American way of life, except a pattern of Puritanical, in the early days, thrift and industry” (62).

Elliptic narratives are eloquent and frequently reveal the existence of powerful discourses behind them.³⁹ It is worth noting the absence of an Irish Protestant literature and identity in any of the Latin American countries, despite the fact that numbers of Church of Ireland (Anglican) and Presbyterian Irish emigrants travelled through and settled in the region, particularly in 1910-1930. Although several early migrants, especially in the countryside, converted to Roman Catholic in order to join the local Irish communities, most Protestant Irish joined the Anglican or Presbyterian congregations in the region and gradually their families' Irish identity was weakened on the acquisition of English features.⁴⁰ An analogous example of the Irish-ethnic elliptic discourse applied to religion is the silence about the alleged Protestant background of Argentina's naval hero William Brown (1777-1857).

Latin American-ethnic (1930s-1960s)

The Latin American-ethnic discourse is nationalist, related to the formation of different nation-states in the region, as well as ethnicity-oriented. In particular, the latter aspect is emphasised by the ideas of cultural mestizaje. Instead of focusing on the "purity" of races as the Anglo- or the Irish-ethnic discourses did (invariably with a positive value), the Latin American-ethnic standpoint asserts the mixed character of Latin American peoples, whether as a negative or positive meaning. In general terms, the reaction of Latin American revisionism against colonialist or imperialist control assigns a positive value to the fusion of Latin American ethnic groups, as a foundational base of country- and eventually regionally-based nationalism. For this reason revisionism in Latin America – traditionally nationalistic –

³⁹ A typical example of elliptic narrative in Latin America is the virtual absence of cultural expressions from African communities in countries with a strong indigenous mainstream discourse (e.g. Afro-Mexicans of Costa Rica and Garifuna of Guatemala and Honduras).

⁴⁰ It is significant that many poor Church of Ireland migrants were received better by the Presbyterian communities in Brazil or Argentina than in the Anglican churches. This may have been originated in a discriminatory attitude of well-off contemporary Anglicans in the region towards the less fortunate Irish.

has the opposite ideological sign to revisionism in Ireland, which has been a reaction against cultural nationalism.

Given the strong social and economic links of the wealthiest Irish families in the region with the local bourgeoisies, it is not casual that among the main representatives of the Latin American-ethnic discourse are some children or grandchildren of Irish settlers. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886) in Chile, Juan O’Leary (1879-1969) in Paraguay, Luis Alberto Murray (1923-2002) in Argentina and, above all, Edmundo O’Gorman (1906-1995) in Mexico, helped to shape a conscience of local identity and an ethos of independence of the imperial powers.

Among the views of Latin American *mestizaje* in the mainstream intellectual circles in North America, Ready’s attitude it is illustrative. After considering that the Irish contributed little to the Latin American way of life, in his 1966 bitter article published by *Eire-Ireland*, Ready observed that

whereas the Irish have brought a certain flavour to Great Britain, and to the United States, and to Canada, their influence upon the South American republics has not been of much importance, for their endeavors followed similar cultural patterns to those that were being pursued there anyhow by different racial groups. Miscegenation has an almost obscene connotation in these United States of the north, yet in the other Americas this has been achieved, their greatest achievement, and the Irish and the Spanish, the mestizos and the creoles – who can tell? (Ready 1966: 62).

Genealogical (1960s-1980s)

As seen above, genealogical studies provide “scientific” elements to justify the inclusion of certain persons in a social group. Strongly revitalised by the 1920s and 1930s positivist ethnic research in Europe and North America, Irish genealogy returned to the concept of racial purity and a search of physical and moral characteristics that defined Irishness.

Indeed, the most important genealogist of the Irish community in Argentina was Eduardo Coghlan, a lawyer and genealogist in Buenos Aires, whose life and work has been previously mentioned in Chapter Two. Books by Eduardo Coghlan include *Fundadores de la Segunda Época: los irlandeses* (Buenos Aires, 1967), *Los irlandeses* (Buenos Aires, 1970), “Orígenes y evolución de la colectividad hiberno-argentina” in *The Southern Cross: Número del Centenario* (Buenos Aires, 1975), *Andanzas de un Irlandés en el Campo Porteño 1845-1864* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1981), *El Aporte de los Irlandeses a la Formación de la Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1982), and his opera magna *Los irlandeses en Argentina: su actuación y descendencia* (Buenos Aires, 1987).

The significance of Eduardo Coghlan’s work can be measured in the numbers of Argentine families fascinated by their Irish genealogy. Although very few researchers followed his work, Coghlan’s books are frequently found in the private libraries of families and individuals who proudly boast their Irish origins.⁴¹ Thousands regularly visit the website *Irish Genealogy Argentina* (<http://www.irishgenealogy.com.ar>), which transcribed most of the family genealogies in *Los irlandeses in Argentina*, with additions from visitors who add their children or mend omissions in the original work.⁴²

Social (1960s-1980s)

Contemporary to the genealogical discourse, but usually inscribed in the academic domain, historians, literary critics, and other Latin American intellectuals became interested on the social aspects of the Irish in Latin America. Inspired by the Marxist theory and the expansion of demographic studies in the region, research became dominated by the hard data of studies in population, life expectancy, mortality tables and social formulae.

⁴¹ See for instance Guillermo MacLoughlin’s *The Irish in South America* in M.D. Evans and Eileen O’Duill (ed.) *Aspects of Irish Genealogy* (Dublin: Irish Genealogical Congress Committee, 1993).

⁴² Cited on 29 December 2009.

Land tenure in the pampas attracted many studies and, in the field of Irish immigration, the process of working “in halves” became a basic theory to explain the success of the Irish in countries like Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. In 1981, Juan Carlos Korol and Hilda Sabato published *Cómo fue la inmigración irlandesa en Argentina*, including the progression of capital-less Irish immigrants who were hired as shepherds by sheep farmers, to partners working for the half or third of the produce in wool and lambs, to land tenants working with their own flocks of sheep, and to owners of their land. Korol and Sabato were the first to give reasons for the relative success of the rural Irish immigration in Argentina. Using a systematic research on primary and secondary sources, and in the tradition of British social history of the 1970s, their book is one of the few published scholarly works about Irish settlement in Argentina.

Deborah Jakubs’s unpublished doctoral thesis of 1985 was the first to describe the Irish in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires not as a separate and isolated community but as a segment of the larger English-speaking group. Working primarily with census returns, contemporary newspapers and church and consular records, Jakubs provides a detailed description and generalising hypotheses for the patterns of migration, work, residence, family and social networking in Buenos Aires, in which the Irish were quantitatively a significant sector.⁴³

Although produced in a later period than the studies mentioned above, Patrick McKenna’s unpublished M.A. geography dissertation (1994) was important in the description of social networks and the estimation of a more precise number of Irish emigrants to Argentina, which included return migration and re-migration to other destinations of the Irish diaspora.

⁴³ Maxine Hanon’s *Diccionario de Británicos en Buenos Aires: primera época* (Buenos Aires: author’s edition, 2005), may be also classified in the same framework of studying the Irish within the context of British migration to Argentina. I reviewed the *Diccionario* in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 4:4 October 2006 (www.irlandeses.org), accessed 21 May 2007.

McKenna's calculations were possible thanks to a broader consideration of the works of secondary sources. Commenting on Eduardo Coghlan's research, McKenna observed that

from a Darwinian perspective, Coghlan records only the fittest who went on to reproduce [...]. What Coghlan's work cannot do is account for those considerable numbers who migrated either back to Ireland or to the United States, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Neither does it record those migrants who disappeared or who, soon after arriving, died during the many cholera epidemics which occurred in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (McKenna 1994: 36).

McKenna's study also presented space descriptions of the Irish midlands and Wexford as the "sending areas" of emigration to the Río de la Plata region, as well as gender roles and the function of the Irish Catholic Church in the formation of the community.

Labour history remains an untapped domain, with important topics like the plantation labourers, masters, and managers in the Caribbean and the north of South America, navvies in Cuba and Panama, qualified mining personnel in Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Brazil and Ecuador, and merchants elsewhere in the region.⁴⁴ Furthermore, very limited literary criticism has been dedicated to the fictional production of the Irish in Latin America, including novels, short stories, poetry and, especially, literary pieces published in the press.

Visual Arts, Sports, Toponymy and Education

As an ethnic community with asymmetric characteristics, the Irish in Latin America can hardly be classified, as they were in other regions, as a Celtic group. Some of those characteristics are opposed and preclude possible taxonomies. During the immigration and

⁴⁴ Two of the most recent studies include detailed descriptions of the social structures and boundaries of the Irish in South America, with particular attention to the relations of the Irish with African and indigenous peoples in Argentina, and to their mental health and alcoholism (PhD unpublished thesis by Claire Healy, NUI Galway, and Helen Kelly's thesis at Trinity College Dublin). Orla Power's "Irish Catholic planters in the Caribbean: Montserrat and St. Croix 1747-1775", presented at SILAS 2007 conference in NUI Galway, and Margaret Brehony's "Los Irlandeses in Cuba: Irish railroad workers in Cuba 1835-1840", presented at SILAS 2009 conference in Morelia, Mexico, are encouraging research works in this field.

settlement cycles, their own perception as *ingleses* conflicted with the basic features of the Irish nationalist *mythomoteur*, which produced symbols supporting a purportedly common ancestry, homeland, tradition, and language.⁴⁵ This is further complicated by the interaction with the local societies, when the protean Irish identities acquired elements of, and eventually became, Latin American, Amerindian, African or Creole.

This final section this chapter deals with a number of cultural representations that are powerful to shape the character of Irish-Latin American imagery, and at the same time to direct the symbolic production of the community. Visual arts, sports, toponymy, and education are mirrors in which the fragmented values of the Irish in Latin America reflect their images and convey repeated behaviours.

Images: Visual Representations of Irish Culture in Latin America

While the mainstream values of the Irish in Latin America have been traditionally represented by literary undertakings, the press, and private documents, a number of artists with Irish origins developed skills equally powerful to signify their ideological positions.

The young landscapist Henry Sheridan (1833-1860) acquired notoriety when he returned to Argentina after a lengthy staying in England. Born near Buenos Aires into a wealthy Scot-Irish family from county Cavan, in 1835 his mother went with the children to Liverpool so that they could be educated in England. She died soon after the arrival and his father, landowner and merchant Peter Sheridan died in 1844. In England, Henry Sheridan studied painting and made trips to the continent while he was definitively influenced by British artistic and cultural values. As a result he exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts a painting

⁴⁵ According to A. Smyth in his *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (1986), a *mythomoteur* is a fundamental myth supporting the identity of an ethnic group and giving it its “shape and direction” (58).

titled after Wordsworth poem “The Fall of the Aar, at the Handec”. When he arrived in Buenos Aires at twenty-four, Sheridan introduced the novelty of painting landscapes. “The short painting tradition in Argentina was centred on portraits and on religious and historic scenes [...]. The painting of local customs and manners was on a second level, more-or-less important, but, in general, dealt with by foreign painters with a special perception for exoticism. Landscapes, Sheridan’s forte, were still an unusual subject matter, perhaps because of the monotonous environment of the pampas” (Mariano Galazzi, “Henry Sheridan and the beginnings of Argentine art” in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 7:2 (July 2009), pp. 231-238). Working together with Jean L. Pallière, Sheridan organised the first exhibition in Buenos Aires, with sixty works including “landscapes representing the sunset in the Alps, Lake Lamond [*sic*] in Scotland, pictures of customs and costumes, like the porteños in Santo Domingo, the gaucho in his ranch, and portraits [...]. ‘The sunset in the Alps’, by Sheridan, is full of that deep and melancholic poetry exuding from all this young man’s output” (*La Tribuna*, 11 June 1859, in Galazzi 2009). Among the works by Sheridan there are oils, watercolours, and lithographs like “Races in Belgrano” and “View of Buenos Aires from the south”. Sheridan contributed in this way to the Romantic values in Latin America, which depicted nature as a wild and empty space that was subject to improvement and exploitation by the progressive forces of England.

Almost a century later in Mexico, as a reaction to traditional Eurocentred artistic principles, Juan O’Gorman (1905-1982) and Pablo O’Higgins (1904-1983) left works that can be identified with a particular view of the Latin American identity. They contributed to social realism and joined the group of Diego Rivera, Clemente Orozco, and Rufino Tamayo. Juan O’Gorman was the brother of the renowned historian Edmundo O’Gorman, and the eldest son of the Dublin-trained mining engineer and painter Cecil Crawford O’Gorman. The family came from England and was related to the O’Gormans of Ennis, county Clare. An ancestor,

Charles O’Gorman, had been appointed the first British consul to Mexico in 1823. Juan O’Gorman graduated in 1927 from the school of architecture at San Carlos Academy. He worked on the reconstruction of the Bank of Mexico central building. In 1931 he frescoed the library of Azcapotzalco and in 1937 decorated and painted the murals in Mexico City’s first airport. After an eight-month stay in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he was engaged in the great mural of Gertrudis Bocanegra library in Pátzcuaro, including scenes of the conquest of Michoacán and the struggle for independence from Spanish rule. Juan O’Gorman’s most imposing work was the decoration of the Central Library on the campus of Universidad Autónoma, where he worked in 1949-1953 painting four thousand square metres with representations of historical events. Other important works include the Social Security Centre, the International Bank on Reforma Avenue, parks, theatres, museums, primary schools in Mexico City and private houses, such as Diego Rivera’s and Frida Kahlo’s “functional house”. Among his murals are those in the Independence Room of Mexico city’s Chapultepec Castle.

Pablo O’Higgins was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, to an Irish family in the United States. A pianist in his childhood, O’Higgins was initiated into the field of painting and in 1922 abandoned his musical career and entered the Academy of Arts in San Diego, California. He became acquainted with Diego Rivera and joined the post-revolutionary artistic movement, actively helping Rivera to paint the murals in the former chapel of Chapingo and the Public Education Secretariat. His works were exhibited for the first time in 1925 in San Francisco, California. He contributed artwork to *Mexican Folkways* magazine and sat on its editorial committee. Pablo O’Higgins joined the Mexican Communist Party and worked on cultural missions in Durango, Hidalgo, Veracruz, and Zacatecas. He co-published with Jean Charlot and Frances Toor *Las obras de José Guadalupe Posada*, a Mexican engraver. In 1931 O’Higgins co-founded with Leopoldo Méndez and Juan de la Cabada the Proletarian

Intellectual League, and contributed illustrations to the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party in the United States, being awarded for this work a grant by the Moscow Academy of Arts. O'Higgins also taught drawing in primary schools in Mexico and co-founded the Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, LEAR) and Taller de Gráfica Popular (Popular Graphics Workshop, TGP). In 1943 his works were exhibited by the Association of American Artists. His paintings were included in the Salón de Plástica Mexicana. O'Higgins was awarded the first prize at the Salón Anual de Pintura, Grabado y Escultura of the INBA for his lithograph "El chichicuilotero". In 1961 O'Higgins became a Mexican citizen as recognition to his contributions to arts and education.

Irish Victores Ludorum in Latin American

In British school tradition, *victor ludorum* is the title awarded to the most successful competitor during the field day at the end of the academic term, when boys and girls participate in athletic activities and try to win prizes for them and their "house" (team). The competitive aspect implicit in the awarded title is an indication of the belief that only the fittest survives in social life, and thus the moral obligation to cultivate bodily vigour. From Victorian times, physical education has been considered an important part in the formation of moral character among the youth. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* is the first source to include the concept of "muscular Christianity", which was subsequently adapted by English influential educators and writers like Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley to stress the need for a lively Christian vocation supported by energetic masculinity. Furthermore, athletic activity became an important component of British identity in the context of imperial expansion, allowing social interactions structured according to military, colonial or economic

hierarchies that could be easily globalised independently of the location, and a desired differentiation from native societies.

British sports rapidly penetrated Ireland from the early nineteenth century. Dublin was the birthplace of the vast majority of institutions responsible for the organisation and propagation of British sports in the island, including “the Irish Rugby Football Union (1879), the Irish Lawn Tennis Association (1877), the Golfing Union of Ireland (1891), and the Irish Hockey Union (1893)” (Jeffery 1996: 62). Anticipating the expansion of sports codification that occurred in continental Europe and later in Latin America and many other empire locations, British sports in Ireland originated in English schools, universities, clubs, military and other social institutions though “became increasingly identified with working-class communities as the nineteenth century progressed” (63).⁴⁶ Irish athletic games were rediscovered in the late nineteenth century thanks to the work of the Gaelic Athletic Association and other nationalist institutions. But British sports became a popular feature in Irish social life, including the areas from where the emigrants went to Latin America. From the 1850s to the 1870s, cricket in Westmeath was played mainly by the landed gentry and schools that specialised in the education of their sons, but the 1880s and 1890s saw a veritable explosion in cricket’s popularity in the country, “to the extent that it became the most popular sport in Westmeath, and by the end of the century it was dominated by agricultural labourers” (Hunt 2007: 120).

In Latin America “the diffusion of British sports took place through the informal bonds of empire through trading and capital investment, whereas in the Caribbean it was through more formal colonial mechanisms” (Kennedy 2008: 3). These regions were among the first beneficiaries of British sporting innovations. With the opening of Latin American ports and commercial centres to British trade in the late eighteenth-century and the first half of the

⁴⁶ Irish educators enthusiastically adopted the ethos of muscular Christianity, and by the second half of the nineteenth century almost every school included athletic activities in their programme. Catholic religious orders like the Christian Brothers and the Jesuits were keen supporters (and frequently players) of various British sports in their schools.

nineteenth century, the cultural transfer of sports rules and practise was performed in three steps: (i) from the British Isles to enclaves in the region supported by British capital investment and represented by English-speaking social institutions like churches, schools, commercial unions, and associations, (ii) from the institutions to local cooperating elites who supported and interacted with the British in business and social activities, and (iii) from the local elites to the more popular social groups.

Even though the British share of immigrants was never to surpass a small portion of the total Latin American population, “the impact they had in terms of the sporting environment was wholly disproportionate to their size” (Kennedy 2008: 5). Cricket was the first organised or coded sport – i.e. playing with preset rules – in most urban places in Latin America. In Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and San Antonio de Areco, cricket games were played as early as 1807 by members of the English military campaigns in the Río de la Plata. The first recorded game was at the country house of James Brittain in 1817 in the Buenos Aires district of Barracas. The Buenos Aires Cricket Club was formed in 1831 and in 1864 a pitch was inaugurated in Palermo.

Football made its appearance in South America during the mid-Victorian period. The first recorded football match was played on 20 June 1867 by a group of British players in the grounds of the Buenos Aires Cricket Club in Palermo. The team at the Buenos Aires English High School was organised in 1891 by the schoolmaster Watson Hutton; later it was renamed to Alumni and became the most important team of the early period in Argentina, winning the inaugural Association Football League competition in 1893. “Other clubs were formed during that period, which still exist today, including Banfield A.C., Rosario Central and Quilmes Athletic. It is no accident that many of the early clubs grew up around the railway stations”

(Kennedy 2008: 6). Rugby, horseracing (“English style”),⁴⁷ rowing, lawn tennis, and hockey “became an important part of national life and the only aspect of the British community that put Britons in close social and cultural contact with Argentines” (Graham-Yooll 1999: 175). This facilitated the transfer to the larger society as well as the adoption of British sports by other immigrant groups. One person who epitomises this transfer was Paddy McCarthy (1871-1963), who in 1900 was hired by James FitzSimons to teach English and athletics at the Commerce School of Buenos Aires. As a boxer McCarthy fought numerous encounters and coached professional and amateur boxers in the Río de la Plata. He abandoned boxing and, once appointed to the sports municipal committee in Buenos Aires, he taught football techniques in Alumni, Lanús, Estudiantes, Gimnasia y Esgrima, and Boca Juniors, where he helped to popularise the sport among humble children of Italian and other immigrants. He was also a referee of the Argentine Association Football League during eighteen years.

The Irish community were to make a unique contribution to sport in Argentina and Uruguay through the introduction of hurling, “a sport which itself was influenced by the trends emanating from Victorian England” (Kennedy 2008: 7). Although there are references to the game in the late 1880s in Mercedes, it was not organised until 1900 through the efforts of Michael Dinneen and William Bulfin, and later by Patrick McManus. Opposite to the sports played by the English in the region that were enthusiastically adopted by the local community, hurling remained a preserve of the Irish community and after some decades it was replaced by hockey.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ “English style” distinguished horse racing sessions from the local *cuadras*, which were run in much shorter distances (usually up to 400 metres instead of 1.7 kilometres in English-style races). In the beginning, races were organised by important landowners in their estates, being the events exclusive for English-speaking participants. “There is to be four prizes, a Members Cup, a Members Plate, a Saddle & a Bridle whip & spurs [...], and open to all English-speaking people. This will be a great day, as all our previous races has only been preliminary ones to the great races that is to follow each year” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 September 1867).

⁴⁸ A revival of hurling in recent years in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay has been supported from Ireland through the GAA.

The first Irish sporting institution in the pampas was the Brehon Club founded in 1867 in Carmen de Areco with John Murphy as secretary. They “offered many prizes in the form of books to be competed for in the exercises” (Murray 1919: 234). The Lobos Athletic Club started in 1892 by Tom Garrahan and a group of Irish Argentines. The Capital Athletic Club was initiated in 1895 by a group of the Irish in Buenos Aires. The name of the club was changed to Porteño Athletic Club soon after its foundation. Besides football the members played cricket and other sports. Over time, the club lost its distinct Irish character and football was supplanted by rugby. Later in the twentieth century, “the Irish Christian Brothers also made a contribution to rugby in the wider Río de la Plata region, particularly through the Stella Maris School in Montevideo and the Cardenal Newman School in Buenos Aires” (Kennedy 2008: 8).

Polo is another sport (originated in India and codified by British colonial officers) that became popular among British players in the pampas. With their predominant presence in certain rural areas and plenty of flat land to play, the Irish supported the development of polo in Argentina. The Argentine polo team that won the gold medal in the 1924 Summer Olympics included Arturo Kenny and “in the 1936 summer Olympics Roberto Cavanagh and Luis Duggan were gold medallists. Juan A. E. Traill was the first to achieve the top handicap of ten in 1913. Indeed two of the most prominent teams in the 1940s, Venado Tuerto and El Trébol, were mainly composed of Irish players. The dominance of Irish Argentines in the sport continues to the present day” (Kennedy 2008: 9), which is an indication of the Irish community’s attachment to rural values and to social hierarchies based on accepted principles of landownership.

Through athletic activities and organised sport, the Irish in Latin America developed cultural values that adhered to the British ethos of “muscular Christianity” and at the same

time facilitated the cohesion of the community through the organisation of social events and interaction in educational and entertainment bodies and institutions.

Naming Places

According to William Wordsworth, in the natural world “many places will be found unnamed or of unknown names [that he wished] to give some sort of record to such Incidents or renew the gratification of such Feelings” (Preface to *Poems on the Naming of Places*). Giving names to places becomes in the poet’s imagination a means to recall the pleasant instant in which he has been immersed in the material environment. However, most of the places are named in a less poetic way and with more materialistic purposes.

A reference to the Irish place names in Latin America helps to understand the process by which certain persons bestow names and their intentions. Not everyone is socially authorised to give names to places. Long-lasting toponyms – linking places to words that are conventionally used by a social group to refer to a specific location – may change from time to time, but normally their practical use goes from a number of years to many centuries. Once they are used by generations of travellers and dwellers in certain geography and especially when they are published in maps, place names tend to be rather difficult to replace. People who give names to places are persons with the authority to change something in the world through words, and who act in a certain way and in a certain context. In their initial naming declaration, toponyms can be linked to John L. Austin’s concept of performative utterances; they are not true or false and they do not necessarily describe anything, but rather change in some way the state of the world. For instance, when used in the course of a marriage ceremony and uttered by the minister or official, the formula “I now pronounce you man and

wife” changes the marital status of the couple. The same quality is identified in a declaration of war by the government in the appropriate circumstances.

Some noteworthy Latin American toponyms were created by the Irish (or at least Irish sources claim that privilege). According to Roger Casement “we accept the names of countries and of places as we find them on maps without question taking them as a matter of course just as we accept the Atlantic Ocean or Asia. The name seems a part of the country and if a very inquisitive mind should ask the origin of the name itself, reference is made to a school geography, where the new-comer may find a probable commonplace origin. Thus it is with the name Brazil” (Roger Casement in Mitchell 2006: 158). Casement went as far as claiming that “Brazil owes her name to Ireland”. He claims that the origins of the name Brazil come from the mythical Irish island of Hy-Brasil. This imagined island to the west of Ireland, “is variously described as a ‘promised land’, the island of the blessed – *Tír na nÓg* – the land of the setting sun, and features most largely in the voyages of St. Brendan” (157). In a fourteenth-century map by Angelinus Dalorto of Genoa, Brazil appears as a large rounded land to the south of Ireland.⁴⁹ On various maps from Italy and Catalonia the name appears again. According to Angus Mitchell, “Casement was able to show how the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of history had obscured and corrupted the history rooted in a more ancient Irish origin” (158), and he revised the accepted “discovery” narrative and the neglect of English historians about the Irish influence in Atlantic culture through their ignorance of the Irish language and their denial of a more ancient and mystical source of knowledge. Without ignoring that the “the sweetest sounding name” of Brazil most likely came from a South

⁴⁹ “An island in the same latitude as southern Ireland. The name may be Gaelic as *Bresail* is the name of an ancient pagan demi-god and both syllables *Bres* and *ail* denote admiration. It consists of a large ring of land surrounding an inland sea dotted with islets. The ordinary mortal cannot see it and only a chosen few have been blessed with the vision of Brazil (Angelinus Dalorto, *L’Isola Brazil*, Genoa, 1325)” (Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places*, New York: Harvest, 1999: 89).

American dye-wood used in the Middle Ages, Roger Casement was claiming an Irish origin of the country's name.

In the same level of speculation, the bay of San Borombón (various spellings) on the Río de la Plata estuary may have been derived from St. Brendan's legendary journey to America. Indeed, there is a legend in the Canary archipelago about a phantom island named San Borondón, which is sometimes associated with the saintly Irish traveller and that may have been transferred in colonial times to the viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata.

The Caribbean locations of Sligoville (Jamaica), O'Brien (St. Vincent), O'Neill's town (Bahamas), Galloway, Riley, Blake, O'Donoghue, Corkhill, and Kinsale (Montserrat), O'Brian, O'Gorman and O'Rouck (Haiti) are all places named by or after Irish people and locations. A number of toponyms dedicated to San Patricio, São Patrício or Saint Patrick in Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, and the Caribbean were given by Irish residents, travellers or missionaries. Other sites were named referring to the Irish as *ingleses*, like "Praia dos ingleses" in Florianópolis (Brazil), "Malecón de los ingleses" in Lima, and "Arroyo de los ingleses" in Pergamino (Argentina), or directly referring to places in Ireland, like streets and parks named after Dublin, Belfast, and Ireland.

Many place names in Europe and the Americas with a predominant indigenous tradition follow the naming patterns of metonymical toponymy. From Flat Top Mountain in Tierra del Fuego to Callejón del Romance, a passageway in Morelia, Mexico, these metonymic toponyms refer to a part or an attribute of the place. More recently-named locations, including several Irish place names in Latin America, follow metaphorical toponymy and there is no intrinsic relation between the name and the place.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ According to Boris Uspenskii, "metonymic toponymy refers to cultural, military and other types of expansion from a political centre to a periphery, culminating in the attribution of the centre's name to the periphery, with

In several cases, Irish place names are patronymics, especially the surname of the naming person. Religious commitment, gendered supremacy, family feelings, nationalist or ethnic ideals inspired the Irish to name places in the region and provided a plethora of possible names. Indeed, in most cases the intention was connected to the desire of extending beyond life time their landlord privileges in their own places. It was a wishful manifestation of the phoenix myth, or a lay and materially-focused *Parousia*.⁵¹ The attachment to landownership and paternalistic views are a consequence of the Irish atavistic insecurity feelings regarding the land their tenant farmer ancestors have occupied in Ireland. The Irish wished to possess land not only for the material benefits but also, and especially, for the strong symbolic force inherent to landownership in bourgeois societies in Ireland and in Latin America, in which social and familiar position have been traditionally judged according to the extension and value of land properties. At the same time, it was as an expression of the newly acquired social supremacy, authority and material pre-eminence in the bourgeois circles in which they were accepted in Latin America.

Not surprisingly, it is in the map of the Argentine and Uruguayan pampas where the majority of Irish place names can be identified (see Appendix A, Figure 4). As mentioned above, one of the conditions for naming places is that the person giving a name to a location must have the required power and authority. In the Río de la Plata region a relatively high number of Irish immigrants settled successfully and integrated in the local societies. Among

the addition of the qualifier 'great(er)' (cf. Great Britain, Greater Boston, etc.). Metaphorical toponymy, on the other hand, is exemplified by onomastic strategies observed in European colonies, where newly founded cities were named after already existing European ones, occasionally with the attribute 'new' added: New York, New Amsterdam, Paris (Illinois), etc. According to Uspenskii, metaphorical toponymy creates an opposition between a metaphor's two subjects, whereas metonymy toponymy is based on identification" (Karin Sarsenov, "Europe in Post-Soviet Autobiographical Writing", Almut Barbara-Renger and Roland Alexander Issler (eds.), *Europa-Stier und Sternenkrantz* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2009: 522).

⁵¹ According to George Schöpflin, the myth of renewal is ultimately related to the Christian theme of Second Coming (*Parousia*), and it is also present in the ancient motif of the phoenix. "The idea is that the present is tainted and must be cleansed, and through that purgation a better world can be treated" (Schöpflin, George, "The Functions of Myth and a Taxonomy of Myths" in George Schöpflin and Geoffrey Hosking, *Myths and Nationhood*, New York: Routledge, 1997: 32).

them, there were landowners, priests and missionaries, heads of municipal governments, judges of the peace, businessmen, railway managers, land surveyors, and others who gave their names to the land they occupied, and to churches, towns, railway stations, rivers, parks or streets. Furthermore, there was Latin American local people who wished to commemorate Irish people or saints by creating new toponyms.

Therefore, the vast majority of the Irish place names in Latin America are landowners' family names – especially *estancieros* in the pampas who wished to be evoked by the following generations. Some of these toponyms are Dennehy, Mulcahy, Kenny, O'Brien, Diego Gaynor, Ham, Dillon, Whelan, Maguire, Gahan, Armstrong, Duggan, and others (see Figure 4 in Appendix A). As a rule, landowners sold or donated a section of their rural estates to the railway companies in order to build a station, and a condition was stipulated that the station should bear their name. Houses and stores were built near these stations, attracting new residents and forming a village that eventually became a recognised town. Other landowners simply named a river or an island within their properties (Lennon, Mulhall). There are streets or parks in the cities named after Irish eminent residents (Cullen, Fahy, Furlong, Lynch, O'Brien, O'Gorman, Rodolfo Walsh are examples in the city of Buenos Aires). In the same customary way among many rural landowners in the pampas, others christened their properties with the names of Catholic saints including their, and in many cases their wives' or children's, first names. Accordingly, numerous *estancias* are called San Miguel, San Patricio, San Juan, Santa Rosa or Santa Juana. Irish symbols and patriots were used as well to name ranches, like El Trébol (The Shamrock), Emmet (after Robert Emmet of the 1803 Irish rebellion), or Derrynane (after the birth place of Daniel O'Connell), and literary landmarks like Auburn (after Oliver Goldsmith's pastoral poem *The Deserted Village*).⁵²

⁵² Christian and Irish symbolic imagery was also used profusely in cattle brands, as it is displayed in the collection included in Coghlan 1987: 903-917.

After some time, a number of these establishments became towns, like Santa Lucía or San Eduardo.

Education

Since the mid-nineteenth century the Irish have developed private English-speaking educational institutions in the region. Itinerant educators (“camp schoolmasters”) went from ranch to ranch in the pampas teaching the children in isolated settlements, private schools were established wherever their schoolmasters settled in the region, and missionaries started various institutions from Mexico to Patagonia.

The education system in Latin America did not develop in full until the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1883 in Argentina, only a third of the population in school age (156,325 children) actually received formal education, whether public or private. By way of comparison, in 1824 there were 11,000 schools in Ireland with a total of about 500,000 children attending them.

In the lengthy debate that occurred in many Latin American countries about state-sponsored or private education, much energy was wasted that could have developed the necessary structure to support schooling. The Roman Catholic Church represented the private school sector (including schools controlled by other religions and by ethnic-oriented immigrant communities, as well as lay institutions), and shaped social attitudes towards public education that are still prevalent today.

Among the Irish in the region, there were three major systems to provide their children with the desired education levels and socialising networks: (i) at home with private tutors (the above mentioned camp schoolmasters), (ii) at schools in nearby villages and cities receiving

the children of middle-class groups living in the countryside; and (iii) in Europe at well-known institutions that catered for the needs of well-to-do family.

A few immigrants sent their children to study in England and Ireland. They were well-off parents who could afford the expenses of the journey and tuition and boarding in European schools. Some of these schools in the British Isles included Newbridge College (Kildare, Dominicans), Blackrock College (Dublin, Holy Ghost Fathers), and the Jesuit schools Clongowes Wood College (Kildare), Tullabeg (Offaly), and Stonyhurst (Lancashire, England). Other children were sent to lay schools founded by professional educators, like St. Enda's in The Hermitage, set up by the Irish patriot Patrick Pearse.⁵³

In an article published by a Jesuit school alumni magazine, Paddy Rath wrote back from his father's *estancia* in San Pedro ironically describing Clongowes's pupils as "poets and rhetoricians". He mentioned other sons of landed Irish families who studied in Jesuit schools in Ireland, "not a few old 'Tullabeggars' and 'Clongownians' such as Ballesty, Hearne, Dillon, Duggan, etc. [who] are tempting the smiles of Dame Fortune in the 'camp'" (Rath 1900: 14). Paddy Rath, son of a wealthy rancher of Buenos Aires, was a former pupil at the exclusive Clongowes Wood College of the Society of Jesus. He was a contemporary of James Joyce in Clongowes, and both participated in the celebrations of Easter 1891.

Among the wealthy in Latin America it is a long-standing tradition to send the boys (less frequently the girls) as boarding students of prestigious European or North American schools and universities. Humbler Irish families were also able to send the children to receive private education in their homes in Ireland. Wexford-born Patrick Murphy of Rojas, Buenos Aires, sent his sons Nicholas and Juan to Ireland to complete their education in Wexford. Murphy

⁵³ William Bulfin's eldest son Eamon (Eduardo) Bulfin attended St. Enda's school and stood out in its athletic activities. In 1916 Eamon Bulfin followed Pearse on the seizing of the building of the General Post Office during the Easter Rising.

wrote replying to a letter from his brother Martin; he was “rather surprised to hear of Nicky having so advanced in arithmetic, a state I am sure he could not arrive to with less than three or four years schooling in this unfortunate country”. Critical of the Argentine educational system, he recognised the benefits of sending his children to be educated in Ireland. However, referring to the younger son he invited his brother to be strict and to apply punishment if necessary. “I am not surprised to hear of Johnny being backward in learning. He was always very stupid, and careless also, consequently indisposed to learn what he is required, unless a little severity is practised. Therefore, whatever you see is required, I expect you to take an absent brother’s part, and I will feel obliged” (Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 August 1873). Certainly, physical punishment was an integral part of the education at home and at the school for most Irish and other families.

Whether small private institutions or established schools managed by religious orders and clerics, Irish schools in Latin America offered quality-teaching programmes to their pupils. Annie Murphy was sent “to Buenos Aires to school in April. I am not sure whether I will be going or not yet”. Likely, the school in Buenos Aires was St. Brigdet, founded back in 1858 by the Sisters of Mercy. Her sister Catherine was sent instead to a girls’ school in the nearby small town of Chivilcoy that was opened in about 1869 by the Irish teacher Jane Purcell and her two daughters. Catherine explained to her brothers that “the examinations were held in December in the school that I was in for three days. I came out very well. I would have been crowned only for I let another girl pass me in Arithmetic, but I gained a lot of prizes. I also came out very well in Spanish. They also made me parse in Spanish, and I came out well” (Catherine E. Murphy to Nick and Johnny Murphy, 10 March 1876). The competitive learning context in which students were urged to win “a lot of prizes” was certainly encouraged by parents, and originated in the extremely forceful educational approach prevalent in contemporary Ireland and Britain. It is also interesting to remark that the writer,

born in Argentina seventeen years before, did not speak Spanish fluently. She shared her life with her English-speaking family and with pupils and teachers at the Irish school in Chivilcoy, as well as with shepherds and labourers at the *estancia* who were more fluent in English than in Spanish. This peculiar linguistic situation was shared by many children of the Irish settlers in South America, whether born in Ireland or in the region. Until the first decades of the twentieth century, a vast majority of the Irish and their families did not speak Spanish as their first language. Even in the 1950s several were more comfortable communicating in English (though with several loanwords) than in Spanish.

Drawing from a long tradition, in the initial phase the learning curriculum included reading and writing, mathematics, and occasionally Spanish language, but in the following period it evolved to incorporate English language and literature, musical skills, and athletic activities for boys. Girls participated in other activities including theatre, music, dance, arts, sewing and embroidering, and in some cases, French language, swimming, and typewriting. Traditional religious and lay Irish schools shared a common ground on teaching cultural values and traditions that encouraged a Victorian moral model of development in work and social life.

Several Irish religious educators in Argentina and Uruguay left their mark in the pampas. The Sisters of Mercy run the above mentioned St. Bridget's school, which received generations of Irish-Argentine young women and is still open in Buenos Aires in their striking neo-gothic building inaugurated in 1899, with capacity to house 250 boarder daughters of middle-class Irish families. The Sisters' goal has been to teach "Christian values, solid knowledge, physical health and good manners" (Roger 2003). When the students finished their primary studies, "they could carry on learning English, typewriting and shorthand. This allowed them to become executive secretaries and to find jobs in important multinational companies" (Battezzati 2008: 101). Other schools for girls opened by the Sisters of Mercy

were Mater Misericordiae (1897), St. Mary's (1901), Clonmacnoise (1922) in San Antonio de Areco, St. Anne's in Chacabuco (1929), and St. Ethnea's in Bellavista (1931).

St. Patrick's School was set up by the Pallotine Fathers in Mercedes, near Buenos Aires. It opened in 1887 with the mission to foster "the best Irish race principles and the high traditions of that race in Argentina" (Roger 2003). As an extension, Fr. Bernard Feeney started an industrial school in nearby Azcuénaga. He installed a printing press to instruct the pupils and published the paper *Flowers and Fruits*.⁵⁴ In addition, the Pallotines managed St. Paul's school in Capitán Sarmiento in what has been a chapel opened by Fr. Michael Leahy back in 1868. The school for boys opened in 1900 and became an important formation centre for the children of Irish shepherds in the region. The first hurling encounters in the region were played in the grounds of St. Paul's school (see Figure 12 in Appendix A).

Other schools were opened for Irish orphans and the children of poor families. The Christian Brother's Edmundo Rice School in Buenos Aires and the Fahy School of the Ladies of St. Joseph Society in Capilla del Señor received orphan boys. In 1929 the Fahy School was moved to Moreno and agriculture was added to the programme "to teach the young boys to love the land, learning from it while they toiled it" (Roger 2003). The renowned author and Peronist guerrilla fighter Rodolfo Walsh (1927-1977) was sent to the Fahy School "to learn reading, writing and arithmetic from priests who never forgot to use the stick". His short stories *Irlandeses detrás de un gato*, *Los oficios terrestres*, and *Un oscuro día de justicia* illustrate the life of the boarders and the frontiers of their Irish and Argentine identities. In 1912 a school for orphan Irish girls, Keating School was opened by the Sisters of Mercy in

⁵⁴ Industrial schools started in the British Isles in the 1850s as a means of juvenile crime prevention. The schools cared for orphans and neglected children and taught them a practical trade. The 2009 Ryan Report stated that Irish industrial schools have been notorious for the rampant child abuse (sexual, physical, and psychological), frequently by priests and other religious persons running them.

Buenos Aires. More recently, the Christian Brothers opened schools in Chimbote and Moyabamba (Peru), Cochabamba (Bolivia), and Asunción (Paraguay).

The Passionist nuns, who had already opened a school in Chile, started the Michael Ham Memorial School for girls (1926). Likewise, the Christian Brothers' opened boys' schools Cardinal Newman in Buenos Aires (1948), Stella Maris in Montevideo (1955), and Mundo Mejor in Lima (1969). These institutions became landmarks of private education in the region, as well as some of the most important schools educating the daughters and sons of the landed and business elites. In Mexico, the Colegio Irlandés of the controversial Legion of Christ in Lomas Hipódromo receives the children of important families of the bourgeoisie.

Lay schools opened by Irish educators have been fundamental for the education of the Irish community in various locations. In the Río de la Plata region, Lawrence Dillon's St. Lucy, Sean Healy's St. Ciaran, and John Scanlan's St. Brendan have been important breakthroughs in private education. Their activity was followed by several other initiatives in the region, and the subtitle *escuela irlandesa* can be found today after the name of many schools from Mexico to Argentina. Sean Healy's experience on education and school founding is illustrative: "I would not recommend the experiment or experience to those in quest of opportunities for leisure. But I can truthfully assert that few professions offer one such contentment as that of guiding our youth along the thorny path of adolescent life. Its compensations more than counterbalance the exertions and tribulations exacted" (in Roger 2003).

Irish schoolmasters contributed as well to public education. Patrick Fitzsimmons, who had to flee Ennis, county Clare, due to debts on his Springfield College, opened an Irish school in Lobos in 1862, followed by other institutions in Flores and Paraná. He set up the first national school in Corrientes, where he was appointed by President Domingo F. Sarmiento. Shortly

after, Fitzsimons added an elementary section and a model school for teachers based on the national education system he had known in Ireland. He also organised night courses for workers and a special school for soldiers in the army. His sons James and William taught and held diverse responsibilities in the schools. By the early decades of the twentieth century, *Los Tres Fitzsimons* were recognised as leading figures in the city of Corrientes. In 1891 James Fitzsimons – a pioneer football player and boxer – was appointed director of the Commerce School in Buenos Aires.

Irish women have played important roles in education. Kathleen Milton Jones, born in Dublin to a Church of Ireland family, was sent to study Literature at the University of Cambridge. At twenty, she went with her family to Rio de Janeiro, where she taught English, music and arts at Colegio Americano Brasileiro. Already in Buenos Aires, by 1894 Kathleen set up the English School (later renamed San Patricio) in San Martín, a suburb of Buenos Aires. Her school was a laboratory to test modern educational techniques. Jones innovated in teaching of English as a foreign language. According to the examination results there was a significant improvement of the students' knowledge and enthusiasm. Her motivation schemes, including awards to the best students, prompted them to work harder.

Irish missionaries and religious people, lay educators and informal private tutors have strongly contributed to the education of Irish and Latin American children in the region. They helped not only to build an Irish identity in the region, but also developed a religious-oriented culture of private education in the elites and middle classes of different countries.

Conclusion

Chapter Two covers events of Irish-Latin American history and culture evaluated under the diverse optic of contrasting discourses. One of the most well-known episodes, the story of the

San Patricio Battalion in the Mexican-U.S. American War (1846-1848), is illustrative. Traditionally viewed by many U.S. American military historians as a case of treason and defect to the enemy, it has been considered by Mexican nationalists as a proof of morality of the struggle against imperialism. Furthermore, within the Irish-U.S. American mainstream culture the San Patricios has always been an embarrassing issue challenging the fragile networks of the Irish resident elite with the Anglo Protestant powers. Only in the last twenty years a number of published and film works follow an Irish-ethnic discourse, but even today very limited scholarly research has been conducted.

Researchers of the Irish Diaspora in Australia, Britain, Ireland, the United States, and Canada sometimes feel uncomfortable with the corroboration that the Irish Diaspora is not a homogeneous phenomenon. The result has been a voluntary neglect of the particular field of Ireland-Latin America relations, and a consequent lack of co-operation and research resources. The elucidation of paradigms and discourses in Ireland and Latin America helps to classify the research and literature about this field.

The term “cultural transference” has been associated with diverse fields and disciplines, including post-colonial studies, international relations, education, linguistics, and migrations. It was later adapted to various technological needs, but it continues to represent the transmission of knowledge from one party to another. The process of cultural transfer presupposes the people who give and receive knowledge and behaviours, as well as the artefacts to make the transference possible. Beside the fictional literary works, the press, and private documents, other devices were used by the Irish in Latin America that include specific sets of values.

Painting includes an efficient economy of language, which was used by a few Irish artists to explore diverse themes in the region. In very different periods and contexts, Henry

Sheridan in Argentina, and Juan O’Gorman and Pablo O’Higgins in Mexico, are best reunited by what they did not represent, i.e., Ireland or any type of Irish symbolic space. Sheridan was largely influenced by the British landscape school (eg. Norwich) in the early nineteenth century. O’Gorman and O’Higgins were interested on the social realism in twentieth-century Mexico and North America.

Sports reveal interesting aspects of the Irish in Latin America and their tendency to adhere to one or another ethos. National identity is one of the first observable parameters that sports emphasise. As in other regions, the contribution of British organised sports has been paramount in Latin America. As a numerically important group within the English-speaking communities in the region, the Irish largely played a role in this process, and contributed to the transference of coded sports to local and other immigrant populations. Popular Irish sports like hurling were played in the Río de la Plata up to the 1940s, and Irish clubs for football, rugby, polo, and other athletic activities were initiated by the Irish and gave the community distinct traits. Derived from the British education, the concept of “muscular Christianity” applied among young Irishmen in South America, who were taught religion as an active call for a manly missionary life.

Toponymy and education are other fields in which the diverse attitudes of the Irish in the region can be identified. Place naming is important because it allows identifying toponyms that follow certain patterns. Among the Irish, most frequent place names are patronymics, which suggest a desire to eternise their psychological links with land. In the field of Irish education in Latin America the principal schools, whether lay individual undertakings or institutions founded by religious orders, have been identified. The different needs of the Irish families produced various schooling solutions for boys and girls, for wealthy or poorer

families, lay or religious, Catholic or Protestant. In all cases practical knowledge was favoured so as to provide the children with sound tools to develop their careers in business.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IRISH EXPERIENCE IN THE REGION

Introduction

Since the mythical visit of St Brendan the Navigator to Mexico in the sixth-century, through the conviction in December 2004 of three Irishmen alleged members of the IRA and accused of training guerrillas in Colombia, the relations between Ireland and Latin America have been heterogeneous, fragmentary, and erratic.⁵⁵ The Irish presence in this part of the world is frequently linked to colonial and post-colonial tensions in Europe and the Americas, which are generally connected to British, French, Portuguese, Spanish and, more recently, U.S. American imperialistic policies and discourse. The present chapter accounts for the Irish presence in the region and the migration patterns from Ireland to Latin America.

Of the forty-odd countries and territories shaping the map of Latin America and the Caribbean, only Argentina and certain Caribbean islands developed recognizable Irish communities which endured throughout the times. The other places in the continent have been visited by Irish missionaries, soldiers, merchants, scientists, teachers, and others who either settled in the region and left their visible or subtle traces, or re-migrated within the Americas or to other parts of the world (though Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba developed Irish communities that sooner or later disappeared).

⁵⁵ New Spain historians mention the possibility that St Brendan of Co. Kerry (c.484-580) landed on Mexican shores, and the Aztec deity Quetzalcóatl was identified as a white-skinned and bearded figure who had visited the region and promised to return. This was rooted in the extended seventeenth-century notion that the Mexican and other indigenous peoples had been evangelised before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. The Jesuits Manuel Duarte and Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora added Thomas the Apostle as another visitor to pre-Columbian Mexico. Other legend is that Columbus visited Galway during one of his voyages west and prayed there in the church of St Nicholas. However, there is historical evidence for an earlier visit to Galway by Columbus in about 1477. The first recorded Irish names in Latin America were the brothers Juan and Tomás Farrel, members of the expedition led by Pedro de Mendoza that arrived in the Río de la Plata in 1536 and founded the city of Buenos Aires.

Size of the Irish Immigration in Latin America

It is still a matter of debate among scholars the number of Irish who emigrated to, or settled temporarily in, Latin America. This number may be estimated in at least 60,000 though different authors provided various figures. Only for Argentina, Patrick McKenna affirms that “around 40,000 to 45,000 Irish emigrated to Argentina during the nineteenth century” (McKenna 1994: 182). On their study, Sabato and Korol conclude that “the total number of Irish immigrants who arrived in the country [Argentina] in the nineteenth century was between 10,500 and 11,500” (Sabato and Korol 1981: 48). McKenna argues that Sabato and Korol’s study “is based in the assumption that Coghlan (1982) captured 100 per cent of the Irish emigrants in his work on the census of 1869 and 1855. They analyzed Coghlan’s figures using statistics to build in assumptions for mortality and out-migration and further in-migration up to 1895 to arrive at their figure. The fact that there is such a difference between their figures and mine (especially when I allow for the possibility that my figures may be low) gives some indication of the room which exists for argument about the numbers of Irish who emigrated to Argentina during the nineteenth century” (McKenna 1994: 210). McKenna’s estimation of 40,000-45,000 emigrants in the nineteenth century in Argentina is based on documentary sources which allow inferring the existence of a significant emigrant segment who were not recorded in the censuses owing to death or re-migration out of the country. Furthermore, given that McKenna does not seem to consider the assisted emigrations (for instance, the 1,774 passengers of the *Dresden* and others in the 1880s), and that he excluded the arrivals from Ireland in the twentieth century, the figure is in fact higher. Adding the four or five thousand that went to Brazil, and two or three thousand to Venezuela and Colombia, plus the relatively small numbers in Cuba, Montserrat, Barbados, Mexico, Chile and other countries, the number is between 60,000 and 100,000 Irish immigrants to Latin America and the Caribbean.

This number is significantly lower than that of the emigrants to other regions and countries in the late modern period, i.e., Britain (six million), United States (five million), Canada (one million), Australia and New Zealand (350,000), and South Africa (100,000). Argentina was the country that attracted the largest quantities of immigrants. Thousands more scattered in the region, especially in Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico, and in the Caribbean islands of Cuba, Montserrat and Barbados as a result of the development of plantations, military operations, trade, and colonization schemes. It is also important to consider the significant rates of re-migration within the Americas (especially to the U.S.), and to Australia, England, and back to Ireland, as well as from the U.S. to Argentina in the 1820s, to Cuba where they worked in the railway and plantations, to Panama where they joined the multinational workforce constructing the Panama railway, and to Brazil where they were recruited in New York for land settlement schemes in the 1860s. Even in the relatively successful settlement in the region, the Río de la Plata region, re-migration rates reached at least fifty per cent. This is an indication of the high mobility of the migrants and their lively international networks among family and business relations.

Further discussed in Chapters Four to Seven, the chronicles of the Irish in Latin America often reveal epic qualities, whether from the victim's or from the hero's standpoint. The former expresses the attitude already described in the previous chapter of real or perceived exploitation by, and subordination to, powerful foreign forces, and typically includes the exile mentality by which the English rule in Ireland (or the U.S. American control over Mexico and other countries) led to emigration as the only secure way to ensure survival. The latter – the hero narrative – reveals the position (sometimes perceived as superior) of the Irish with respect to local Latin American social segments. Both perspectives frequently neglect the everyday lives of the immigrants and their families, their settlement patterns, and their relations with other ethnic groups. As Graham Davis rightly points out, “it is tempting in

writing on the Irish pioneer settlers to isolate their story and to laud only their achievements. Such an approach distorts the Irish experience by suggesting a privileged contribution history” (Davis 2002: 238). Furthermore, this attitude neglects the social and economic relations of the Irish and their families with native Amerindians, Hispano-Creoles, Africans and Afro-Latin Americans, Catalonians, Galicians, British, Italians, Germans, French-Basque, and immigrants from other parts of the world, as well as the cultural transfers accomplished among them.

Colonized Realms: Ireland and Latin America (1500s-1700s)

The early Irish presence in Latin America was related to with religious, trade, and military relations between traditional families in Ireland and the Catholic establishment in continental Europe. In the last decades of the sixteenth century many officers and administrators belonging to Irish and Old English families in Ireland withdrew their sons from Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and sent them to Catholic universities in continental Europe.⁵⁶ With the Catholic Counter-Reformation in its height, these young members of traditional clans were taught the reforming zeal, and contributed to a revival of Catholic spirituality at the popular level and to an anti-Protestant mentality.

In Europe the most notable champion of the Counter-Reformation was Philip II of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V, who sought to re-establish Roman Catholicism by force. During the rule of Philip II the first Irish College was opened in 1592 in Salamanca. From 1558 to 1604 Spain was in war with England, and the connections between Gaelic and Old English families with Spanish Catholic priests and officers sometimes represented a real

⁵⁶ “Old English” refers to the descendants of the Anglo-Norman conquerors as opposed to the more recent Elizabethan and Jacobean settlers. The Old English families assimilated to the original Gaelic population, and were associated with the Roman Catholic Church.

threat to England, like when a Spanish force of 4,000 men established in 1601 at Kinsale in Munster. Unofficial contacts among Ireland, Spain, and Portugal continued thereafter, and thousands of Irish soldiers of fortune (the “Wild Geese”) served in French, Spanish, and other foreign armies. Religious, military, and commercial links created an Iberian dimension of the Irish Diaspora which would have direct effects in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century connections between Ireland and Latin America.

Some of the emigrants to Spain and Portugal who latter went to the Americas were from towns in Galway, Clare, Limerick, Sligo and other counties of the west of Ireland. They came from old families with Roman Catholic background, and had some merchant experience. Sometimes they settled in the Caribbean and South American ports to represent the interests of their family businesses, or they were recruited as soldiers or sent as missionaries.

The first Irish person to leave his mark in Latin America was Thomas Field, S.J. (1547-1626). Born in Limerick, Field entered the Jesuits in Rome in 1574. He arrived in Brazil in late 1577 and spent three years in Piratininga (today’s São Paulo). Then he moved to Paraguay with two other Jesuits, and over the next ten years they established missions among the Guaraní people. Thomas Field, who died in Asunción, was the first Irish priest to celebrate the Roman Catholic rites in the Americas. Other priests who went to Latin America were born in Spain or Portugal of Irish parents, and were engaged by the Jesuits and the Franciscans because they spoke English and therefore they could work not only to protect the native populations from the Protestant English and Dutch colonizers but could also convert the heretics themselves.

In about 1612 the Irish brothers Philip and James Purcell established a colony in Tauregue, on the mouth of the river Amazon, where English, Dutch, and French settlements were also installed. Huge profits were made by the colonists in tobacco, dyes, and hardwoods. A second

group arrived in 1620 led by Bernardo O'Brien of county Clare. They built a wood and earthen fort on the north bank of the Amazon and named the place Coconut Grove. O'Brien learnt the dialect of the Arruan people, and his colleagues became expert navigators of the maze of tributaries, canals, and islands that form the mouth of the Amazon.

Other Irish went to the Caribbean as plantation owners. In Montserrat, Barbados, Jamaica, Cuba, Saint Domingue, and other islands, they developed tobacco and sugar plantations and owned slaves or employed indentured labourers. Some of these planters became very wealthy, like the O'Farrill family of Montserrat and later Cuba, Puerto Rico and Mexico. But most endured harsh conditions, rebellions, and logistic problems to transport and sell their produce in local or international markets. Nevertheless, much more Irish were sent to the Caribbean as a punishment or as indentured labourers. The "Red Legs" of Barbados and the "Black Irish" of Montserrat are some of their descendants.

Other Irish worked in Latin America in the eighteenth century as tradesmen or priests. However, most of the Irish presence in the region from the 1770s onwards was owing to military action.

Rebels in Ireland, Mercenaries in Latin America (1770s-1820s)

This period was dominated by soldiers, and corresponds to military action during the Wars of Independence and other conflicts. The Irish soldiers acting in the region by the end of the eighteenth century and during the wars of independence were members of British, Spanish, Portuguese, and South American armies. From 1768 to 1771 an Irish Regiment played a role in the Spanish army which served in Mexico. All its companies were commanded by officers with Irish names, O'Hare, Barry, Fitzpatrick, Quinn, O'Brien, Healy, O'Leary, and Treby

(Tracy). Some of them were Irish-born, and others were the children of well-known Irish families settled in Spain.

Ambrose O'Higgins (1721-1801) is the best example of an Irish emigrant to the Spanish-speaking world who reached the highest ranks in the imperial colonial service. Born (probably) in Ballinacorney, county Sligo, O'Higgins was employed as an errand boy by Lady Bective in Dangan Castle, near Summerhill in Meath. An uncle sent him to Cadiz in Spain, from where he travelled to Peru. He first ran a small toy shop in Lima and after studying engineering was involved in improving the Andean roads and building houses for travellers. Recognized by the colonial authorities, O'Higgins was made administrator of the southern frontier of Chile. He made contact with the Mapuche people and was appointed governor of Chile in 1787 and set about modernizing the colonial administration. In 1795 Ambrosio O'Higgins was made the Spanish viceroy of Peru, in which office he died in 1801 at the age of eighty. Paradoxically, his son Bernardo O'Higgins became the leader of the Chilean War of Independence against Spain.

A tradition of enlisting in the British army developed in Ireland. The recruitment of Irish Protestants began in 1745 and Catholics were permitted to enrol since the Catholic Relief Act of 1793. In the Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815) an estimated 130,000 Irishmen served in the British army, and throughout the nineteenth century a sizeable proportion of the army was Irish-born, exceeding forty per cent in 1830. Lack of alternative employment opportunities at home – more than any alleged Irish fighting spirit or tradition – contributed to high levels of Irish enlistment. As recently as in the Falklands War of 1982 the number of Irish names in the rolls of British units was significant.

Some of the latest chapters of the Seven Years' War in 1762 were the British attacks to Spanish strongholds in Latin America and Manila. In April, a fleet of fifty-three ships and

25,000 men joined up in the West Indies under the command of George Keppel, with Vice-Admiral Sir George Pocock as naval commander, with Havana as their target. The British besieged the city and in August 14 they could enter Havana after great distress from enemy fire and the effects of yellow fever. In the Treaty of Paris the following year, Havana and Manila were returned to Spain (but Spain had to give Florida to Great Britain as compensation). Another British attack in Latin America was in November of the same year, when Irish-born captain John McNamara and his British 45th regiment attacked Colonia del Sacramento in the northern bank of the Río de la Plata (present-day Uruguay). Colonia was then under Spanish control and the British intention was to return it to their Portuguese ally. McNamara and most of the crew were killed when the flagship *Lord Clive* blew up, but some waded ashore and were captured and interned in Córdoba, a province in the centre of Argentina, and Mendoza in the Andean foothills. When finally released, many remained in Argentina. They and some of their descendents were to become involved with the Argentine army of José de San Martín, which gathered in Mendoza in 1816 to invade and liberate Chile.

In 1806 and 1807 Britain made two unsuccessful attempts to displace Spain as the dominant power in the Río de la Plata region. Of the 25,000 men directly involved in both invasions an important number of officers and rank and file were Irish. The first expedition was commanded by William Carr Beresford (1768-1856), from a well-known gentry family of county Waterford. On 25 June 1806 Beresford's troops landed at Quilmes, south of Buenos Aires. After a skirmish with a force of defenders, Buenos Aires capitulated and Beresford men marched to the sound of pipes and drums into the city. The Spanish and Creole forces reacted and Buenos Aires was recaptured by local regiments. Beresford surrendered in August 1806 but thousands of fighting men were soon dispatched to South America and were placed under the command of John Whitelocke. This second British force invaded Montevideo in February 1807 and then attacked, and was repulsed by, Buenos Aires on July 5 of the same

year. Some of the Irish soldiers were made prisoners or deserted from the British army, and settled and prospered in Argentina, and after the 1820s played a role in initiating emigration to Buenos Aires from the Irish midlands.

The other major military involvement of Irish people in Latin America was during the Wars of Independence. As a result of the failed British campaigns in the Río de la Plata, viscount Castlereagh was of the opinion that the commercial penetration of Spanish America was preferable to its military conquest. This policy came into effect in most parts of Latin America when merchants and their employees from Britain and Ireland invaded the Atlantic and Pacific ports of Latin America. However, the new policy did not prevent British subjects enlisting in foreign armies. As a result most Irish saw military action as legionaries in Simón Bolívar's army that liberated Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

Recruited in Ireland by Wexford-born John Devereux and other officers, some 2,100 soldiers arrived in Colombia and Venezuela in 1817-1819. The Irish Legion, which received the support of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland, ended in mutinies, epidemics, and a high death toll in Venezuela. Bolívar said he was not surprised at the conduct of the Irish, and was "pleased to be rid of these mercenaries who would do no killing until they had first been paid for it" (Hasbrouck 1928: 182-3). Devereux himself remained behind in England and Ireland, living sumptuously on the contributions of his dupes, until the return of some of those whom he had cheated exposed him to danger of being arrested or shot, so that he was forced to go to Venezuela many months after his Legion had departed.

Many Irish soldiers took part on the celebrated march across the Andes in 1819 and in the decisive battles of Boyacá (Colombia) and Carabobo (Venezuela). William O'Connor, who came to be known as Francis Burdett O'Connor, served as chief of staff to Antonio José de Sucre (first president of Bolivia) at the battle of Ayacucho, Peru, in December 1824. In this

period Bolívar had a succession of Irish aides-de-camp, of whom the most prestigious was Cork-born Daniel Florence O'Leary, who sustained a serious wound in battle following the Andes march and was decorated with the Order of the Liberator. A recognized hero of the Venezuelan independence, O'Leary settled in Bogotá and held a number of diplomatic appointments for Venezuela and Britain. He died in 1854 in Bogotá and in 1882 his remains were interred in the National Pantheon in Caracas near those of Bolívar.

The South American wars of independence are often regarded as the result of a military strategy developed by the British and other leaders and executed by brilliant military and naval commanders. On a pincer movement, Simón Bolívar from the north, José de San Martín from the south, and admirals William Brown and Thomas Cochrane shelling from the Pacific, prevented the arrival of supplies and reinforcements for the Spanish forces and effectively overthrew the Spanish rule in the region. William Brown (1777-1857), founder of the Buenos Aires navy, was born in Foxford, county Mayo. He began his naval career as a teenager in merchant ships in the U.S., then enlisted in the British army and was engaged in 1809 in commercial trading in Buenos Aires. Brown got involved when his merchant ship was commandeered by the Spanish during the revolution of 1810. Appointed commander of the local fleet, he broke the Spanish blockade in the Río de la Plata and ended the Spanish threat to the newly independent provinces. John Thomond O'Brien (1786-1861) of county Wicklow arrived in Argentina in 1814 and fought in the siege of Montevideo in that year. He was appointed aide-de-camp to General San Martín, and in this capacity took part in all major actions of the independence struggle in Chile, Bolivia, and Peru. Other South American patriots who fought for the new republics were Bernardo O'Higgins (1778-1842), son of Peru's viceroy Ambrose O'Higgins, and regarded as the father of the Chile's independence; Thomas Charles Wright (1799-1868) of Drogheda, founder of the Ecuadorean navy; Peter Campbell (b. 1780) of Tipperary, who organized the first Uruguayan naval force in 1814;

George O'Brien, Charles Condell, and Patricio Lynch, naval heroes in Chile; Diago Nicolau Keating, Diago O'Grady, and Jorge Cowan, who served in Brazilian armies.

Escravos Brancos and Empresarios: Pre-Famine Settlements (1820s-1840s)

William Cotter, an Irish officer serving in the Brazilian army, was sent in 1826 to Ireland to recruit a regiment for service against Argentina. He went to county Cork where he promised the local people that if they enlisted they would be given a grant of land after five years' service. He left for Rio de Janeiro in 1827 with 2,686 men and their women and children, but when they arrived they were completely neglected since the war with Argentina was over. Derided by the African-Brazilian slaves, who called them *escravos brancos* (white slaves), the Irish mutinied together with a German regiment. For a few days there was open warfare on the streets of Rio de Janeiro. While most were finally sent home or went to Canada or Argentina, some did stay and formed a colony in the province of Bahia.

A celebrated military exploit involving Irish troops was that of the San Patricio Battalion made up of deserters from the U.S. army during the Mexican-American war of 1846-1848. Led by John O'Reilly, a deserter from the British army in Canada, some hundreds of Irish and other soldiers crossed over to the Mexican side encouraged by offers to be promoted as artillery officers, as well as offers of land. The case shows the fluidity of loyalty and state boundaries at the time. Fighting under a green banner emblazoned with an Irish harp and a shamrock, the Irish won special decorations for their courage in the battle of Buena Vista, but suffered heavy casualties in the fierce battle of Churubusco. Seventy-two were court-martialled and fifty hanged. The bravery of the San Patricio battalion is widely known among Mexicans today, and every September 12th a ceremony in their honour takes place in San Jacinto plaza in Mexico City. Not surprisingly, in the U.S. they were regarded as traitors.

Successful Irish settlements have been established in Mexican Texas in the period 1829-1836. San Patricio and Refugio colonies in the Gulf coast of Texas owe an important part of their history to the system of land grants allocated under the Mexican colonization law, and to the Irish *empresarios* (entrepreneurs) John McMullen, James McGloin, James Power, and James Hewetson. They were men of vision who had perceived themselves as Mexicans through marriage, commercial contacts, and as Spanish speakers. During the Texas Revolution of 1835-1836 some of the Irish colonists were loyal to the Mexican government, to whom in law they owed allegiance as Mexican citizens and to whom they were obligated for the land grants bestowed upon them. The Irish colonists who had settled alongside Mexican neighbours acquired from them the skills and know-how of cattle ranching.

Land was the great opportunity that attracted thousands of emigrants from the centre and southeast of Ireland to the plains of Argentina, south Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. This emigration commenced with the Irish soldiers left behind by the 1806-1807 British campaigns in the Río de la Plata, along with the simultaneous settlement of a number of British and Irish merchants in the region. According to the 1822 census, there were 3,500 *ingleses* in the Buenos Aires province. At this time, they made up the majority of foreigners in the city of Buenos Aires. Merchants in Buenos Aires benefited from the free trade policy that sparked an economic revival in the Río de la Plata area, and established businesses to trade for silver from Potosí (Bolivia), maté from the plantations along the river Paraguay, and hides, talon, and jerked-beef from the pampas of Buenos Aires and Uruguay. One of the most influential of the Irish merchants in Buenos Aires was Thomas Armstrong (1797-1875), who came from a prominent Protestant landowning family of the Irish midlands. Together with Fr. Anthony Fahy (1805-1871), Armstrong was to lead the Irish immigrant community from its early stages in the 1830s until his death. Another merchant family in colonial and independent Buenos Aires were the O’Gormans of Ennis, county Clare. Members of other prosperous Irish

families settled from the end of the eighteenth century in Latin American ports. These families not only wielded considerable economic and political power within Ireland, but were also involved in Atlantic trade, with links to North America, Spain and Portugal, the West Indies, South Africa and, later, to Brazil and Argentina. Among these families, a number of Galway, Clare, and Cork merchants served as agents in commercial houses in the Atlantic coasts and islands. They were Roman Catholics and loyalists to the British Crown. Other Irish merchants in Buenos Aires were employed by British firms, like William Mooney and Patrick Bookey of Westmeath, and Patrick Brown and James Pettit of Wexford. Together with former soldiers of the British army, they were the initiators of the early immigration chains from those counties to Argentina and Uruguay.

In the 1820s the majority of foreign merchant ships entering the port of Buenos Aires were British, originating in Liverpool, London, Rio de Janeiro, Gibraltar, and Havana. Much of the loading, unloading, and ferrying was also conducted by British people, and Irish residents in the ports were employed as stevedores. From the signature of the Anglo-Argentine Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce in 1824, the British presence was further perpetuated and Argentina followed the first steps to later become one of the most important territories of Britain's informal empire. These were ideal circumstances for a massive welcome to *ingleses*, i.e., English-speaking immigrants from Ireland and Britain.

Irish Landlords in Argentina and their Workers (1840s-1880s)

The arrival in Buenos Aires of 114 Irish immigrants onboard the *William Peile* on 25 June 1844 may be viewed as the beginning of the most important emigration from Ireland to Latin America and to any Spanish-speaking country. The *Peile* emigration, though arranged by Irish merchants in Buenos Aires, was not an organized colonization scheme. To the successful

integration of most the immigrants followed spontaneous chains attracting family members, neighbours, and friends in Ireland.

Although the number of emigrants to Argentina is still debated by historians, the most accurate estimates confirm approximately 50,000 emigrants during the one hundred years ending in 1929. At least fifty per cent of the emigrants did not stay in the country and sooner or later re-migrated to other destinations, most notably the U.S., Australia, or back to Ireland and the British Isles. Arduous working conditions, accidents, and epidemics increased significantly the death rate among those who settled in Argentina, resulting in only 10,000 to 15,000 Irish surviving population, people who founded families and left descendants making up the nucleus of the Irish-Argentine community. Among this group, the success ratio measured in ownership of their means of production was disproportionate compared to other communities of the Irish Diaspora, though immigrants in Argentina from other European regions in the same period (especially French-Basque and Catalanian) were equally successful.

Most of the candidates to emigrate were the children of tenant farmers in the Irish midlands (counties Westmeath forty-three per cent, Longford fifteen per cent, Offaly three per cent) and county Wexford (sixteen per cent). They were lured by the possibility – often imaginary – of becoming owners of 4,000 acres in Argentina instead of being tenants of forty acres in Ireland and, therefore, belonging to a fanciful Latin American landed gentry. Most of the emigrants in this period were young men in their early twenties, and later young women, from families with Roman Catholic background. Upon arrival they were hired by British, Irish, or Creole *estancieros* to work in their holdings, and sometimes to mind their flocks of sheep. Sheep-farming and the impressive increase of wool international prices in 1830-1880, together with convenient sharecropping agreements with landowners, allowed a substantial

part of the Irish immigrants to establish themselves securely in the countryside, and progressively acquire sheep and, finally, land. A few of them, particularly in 1850-1870, managed to acquire large tracts of land from provincial governments or their tenants in areas gained from Indian control or beyond the frontier. However, the vast majority of the Irish rural settlers were ranch hands, and shepherds on halves or on thirds, and never had access to landownership. Stories circulated in Ireland of poor emigrants who became wealthy landowners in the pampas of Argentina and Uruguay. These stories, frequently exaggerated, were sometimes fuelled by those who failed to achieve a successful settlement in Argentina, but did not want to recognise it at home.

Typically, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, members of the landowner class in the pampas with Irish origins perceived themselves as *ingleses*, and their identity was balanced towards British rather than Irish traditions. Likewise, the middle and lower classes composed of shepherds and ranch hands in the countryside, and servants, labourers, and employees in the cities, began to be attracted by Irish nationalist appeals from the church and the press. The existence in Buenos Aires of two newspapers owned by Irish-born people, the *Standard* and the *Southern Cross* may be viewed as a consequence of this differentiated identities connected to diverse social groups.

Nationalism in Ireland and in Latin America (1880s-1930s)

The massive European emigration to certain locations in the region in 1880-1920 was an incentive to attract further emigration from Ireland. The failure of a government colonization scheme from Ireland in 1889 known as the “Dresden Affair” put an end to other official initiatives. Irish emigrants in this period usually came from urban areas in Belfast, Cork, Dublin, and Limerick, or from cities in England or the British Empire. Except from those of

the Dresden Affair (who were mostly labourers and servants), the emigrants in this period were professionals, technicians or administrative employees hired by railway, mining, and utilities companies, banks, or meat-packing plants, and several hailed from families with Church of Ireland and Presbyterian background. They rapidly integrated into the Anglo-Latin American communities throughout the region, following their social and economic patterns, while some of them actively worked to support Irish nationalism.

In Argentina, most Irish families at the turn of the nineteenth century were living in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Córdoba, as well as in Entre Ríos, Mendoza, and in distant Patagonia and Falkland Islands. The trend to move from the “camp” to the cities was led by the wealthiest families, thus imitating the residence patterns of the Argentine landed elite.⁵⁷ A majority of the Argentine-born children of Irish immigrants spoke English as their mother tongue and learnt Spanish at the school. Those who were English-Spanish bilingual offered a linguistic advantage and were often employed by British and later U.S. American companies. Their social activities were shared with Irish or British acquaintances, being horseracing and later rugby-football, cricket, and hurling the most popular athletic activities for men, and lawn tennis for women.

After the difficult years of the World War I (in which a number of Irish Argentines fought in British regiments), there was a new peak of emigration from Ireland to South America, particularly in the period during and after the Anglo-Irish War (1919-1921) and the Irish Civil War (1922-1923). However, the financial crisis of 1929 and conflicts and political and social catastrophe in Europe and later in the region were serious barriers to emigration. After 1930

⁵⁷ English-speaking immigrants in Argentina used “camp” to refer to the countryside in general or to a specific rural holding (*estancia*). It is a loanword from Spanish *campo*, and it is widely recorded by many Anglo- and Irish-Argentine writers and newspapers (e.g., James M. Ussher, *Father Fahy*, 1951; *The Hiberno Argentine Review*, 1907; *The Southern Cross* 25-01-1935, P.J.R.’s *Jim Kelly’s Rancho. A Christmas Camp Story*. Cf. Juan José Delaney, “Lengua y literatura de los irlandeses en la Argentina”, 2003). “Camp” is still used in this manner by Falkland islanders. It has been adopted by authors like Graham Greene in *The Honorary Consul* (1973).

Irish emigration to this region virtually came to a halt. Many Irish did rather well out of the World War II. Some thousands of English-speaking Latin Americans joined the British armed forces, vacating jobs with British companies which needed to be filled by bilingual English-Spanish speakers.

Paradoxically, Irish nationalism in the region represented a hindrance to new immigrants who did not want to be identified with chaos and turmoil in Ireland, but rather with a perceived notion of British organization and working habits. For instance, the new-rich Irish of Argentina, and particularly their Argentine-born sons and daughters, did not want to be considered by the anglophile Argentine elite as belonging to the same circles of their poor relatives in Ireland. This sentiment was remarkably stronger in other Latin American countries.

A social and ideological hiatus arose between the Irish in Latin America and the Irish in Ireland, which gradually weakened the links among members of the same communities – even of the same families – in both sides of the Atlantic. The traditional commercial and investment predominance of the British was gradually occupied by U.S. companies and diplomacy. By the 1920s most of the families with Irish surnames in Latin America were considered – and considered themselves – Brazilians, Chileans, Mexican, and others rather than Irish.

Society and State-building: Diplomatic, Religious, and Other Links (1930s to date)

There have been some Irish diplomats gaining experience in Latin America before 1930, including Robert Gore in Montevideo and Buenos Aires in the 1850s, Thomas Hutchinson in Rosario and Lima in the 1860s, the Irish-U.S. Americans Martin MacMahon who represented

the U.S. in Paraguay in the same period and Patrick Egan in Chile in 1889-1893, and Daniel R. O'Sullivan and the Irish patriot Roger Casement in Brazil in 1906-1911.

The first Irish diplomatic envoy to Latin America was born in Buenos Aires. Eduardo (Eamon) Bulfin (1892-1968), the eldest son of the writer William Bulfin, participated in the Easter Rising and was imprisoned and banished from the British Isles. Back in Argentina in March 1920, Eamon Bulfin began working to support Irish independence against British rule. He established a contact network in South America and started an Irish Fund. In 1921, two of Ireland's eight appointed diplomats, Bulfin and Laurence Ginnell, were based in Latin America. Patrick J. Little arrived in 1922, being the first representative of the Irish Free State. The establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Latin America had to wait until the end of the World War II. In 1947 Matthew Murphy was appointed chargé d'affaires in Buenos Aires, with the Irish Argentine Lorenzo McGovern as the first diplomat to be appointed to a Latin American mission in Dublin in 1955. Irish diplomatic missions were established in Brazil and Mexico in 1975 and 1977 respectively, and both countries opened embassies in Dublin in 1991. In other countries of the region, ten honorary consuls of Ireland operate with the supervision of Buenos Aires, Brasilia, Mexico, and New York embassies.

Besides the ubiquitous pseudo-Irish pubs in most Latin American cities, and the sporadic boom of Celtic music in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and other countries, very few manifestations of Irish culture have had much success in Latin America. University of São Paulo offers a postgraduate course on Irish literature since 1977. The Associação Brasileira de Estudos Irlandeses publishes the *ABEI Journal: The Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies*, edited by professors Munira H. Mutran and Laura P.Z. Izarra since 1999. Recently, with the support of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Irish Studies chairs have been established at Universidad de La Plata (Argentina) and Universidad Nacional Autónoma (Mexico).

Quite apart from official diplomatic efforts and trade missions in the twentieth century, the most efficient Irish representatives in Latin America have been religious missionaries. In many parts of Latin America, to be Irish means priests and nuns. Likewise, in Ireland a good part of people's knowledge of Latin America is derived from notices from these missionaries circulated through churches. Furthermore, returning missionaries have had an impact on the Catholic Church in Ireland as they sought to promote a model of post-Second Vatican social church frequently associated with Latin America. The pioneering work of Fr. Fahy and other Irish chaplains in nineteenth-century Argentina, Uruguay, and Falkland Islands was followed by religious orders. The Sisters of Mercy and the Passionist and Pallotine fathers served the Irish community and went along the pattern of the Irish missionary movement elsewhere in the nineteenth century – following the Irish Diaspora or British colonization. Missionary work with Latin Americans was not established until 1951, when the Columbans opened parishes in Peru and Chile. Furthermore, lay people were sent to Bogotá in 1953 to establish the Legion of Mary. From Bogotá the work of the Legion extended to other areas of Colombia and then to Venezuela, Ecuador, and almost all countries of Latin America in subsequent years. The Redemptorists established in Brazil in 1960, the Kiltigans also in Brazil in 1963, the Irish Dominicans in Argentina in 1965, the Holy Ghosts in Brazil in 1967, and the Irish Franciscans in Chile and El Salvador in 1968. The St James Society has worked in Peru since 1958. Priests and sisters from Cork were sent to work in Trujillo as an institutional initiative of the diocese of Cork and Ross. One of these Cork missionaries was Fr Michael Murphy, who would later become bishop of Cork. The image of the Latin American church exercised a fascination among Irish people. In the early 1980s the U.S. policy in El Salvador and Nicaragua occasioned widespread condemnation in Ireland. This culminated in the unprecedented wave of protests which greeted President Ronald Reagan when he visited Ireland in June 1984.

Gradually, in a process that for the Irish in the region completed with the Falklands War of 1982, the Irish in Latin America began to perceive themselves as Argentines, Brazilians, Uruguayans, or Mexicans with Irish family names. Very few among them held some distinct Irish family traditions. Present-day Latin Americans with Irish background are estimated by diplomatic sources in between 300,000 and 500,000 persons. Although some may be residents of Mexico and Central America, the northern part of South America, Brazil, and Chile, most live in Argentina and Uruguay. A vast majority among them do not speak English as their mother tongue and do not keep the traditions brought from Ireland by their ancestors. Inter community marriage during the twentieth century has allowed most of the families to assert their local Latin American identities.

In 2002, seeking recognition of their Irish identity, a group of about two thousand Irish Argentines submitted a petition to reside and work in Ireland to the Irish Justice minister John O'Donoghue. The petition, which was accompanied with a press campaign targeting Irish politicians and policy-makers, did not obtain a favourable response from the Irish government. However, it became a demonstration that the links between Ireland and Latin America which have been lost more than a century ago can still be reshaped to accommodate the changing needs of both communities.

Attracting thousands from Latin America to Ireland, the successful Celtic Tiger economy of the 1990s imposed a self-perception of “best place to live” as well as a government policy of restrictive immigration. Latin Americans who have secured an Irish passport rarely use it to live in Ireland but rather in other EU countries. The one significant Latin American community in Ireland is that of Brazilians in counties Galway and Roscommon. Most came from the state of São Paulo and came with the experience of working in Brazilian slaughterhouses. In spite of the world financial crisis in late 2008 that severely affected Irish

economy and employment, return migration of Latin Americans in Ireland has not been significant.

Transport and Settlement Patterns

The following section is an overview of Irish migration patterns to Latin America as a background to the cultural history of the immigrants. Two recent PhD theses and one M.A dissertation have been dedicated to the social and demographic aspects of Irish migration to Latin America. The three studies focus on Argentina, which received the largest Irish immigration in the region and the greatest attention from scholars in this field.⁵⁸ Most of the conclusions are valid for nineteenth-century Irish migration to other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. Since the general objective of this thesis is to develop a cultural history of the Irish in Latin America, only a general account is included with the most common travel patterns in order to understand the difficulties of the emigrant journey in historical context.

The sending areas and demographic characteristics of the emigrant groups from Ireland to Latin America do not greatly differ from those to other parts of the world. However, while an important portion of the emigrants to North America and Australia went from the west and north of Ireland, the contributions of these areas to Latin America were only marginal.

Five major sending areas from Ireland to Latin America have been identified, the Irish Midlands, Wexford, Dublin, Cork, Clare, and Antrim. To this, Spain and the United States

⁵⁸ Healy, Claire, *Migration from Ireland to Buenos Aires, 1776-1890*. PhD history dissertation, National University of Ireland, Galway. James Hardiman Library (Galway, 2005); Kelly, Helen. *Irish 'Ingleses': The Irish Immigrant Experience in Argentina, 1840-1920*. PhD history dissertation, Trinity College Dublin (2006); McKenna, Patrick, *Nineteenth Century Irish Emigration to, and Settlement in, Argentina*. MA geography thesis, St. Patrick's College (Maynooth, 1994).

should be added as intermediate sending areas of Irish-born people and their families. These areas are briefly described in connection to Latin America.

County	% of immigrants
Westmeath	42.90%
Wexford	15.60%
Longford	15.30%
Cork	4.50%
Clare	3.80%
Offaly	3.10%
Dublin	2.60%
Kerry	1.70%
Others	10.50%
Total	100.00%
Source: Coghlan 1987	

Table 1. Counties of origin in Ireland.

The Midlands

The Midlands comprise the central plains of Ireland, including counties Laois, Leitrim, Longford, Offaly, Roscommon, Tipperary, and Westmeath. It was in the border region among counties Westmeath, Longford, and Offaly that emigration to Latin America was significant. In the period 1840-1880, most of the emigrants from this area selected the grasslands of Argentina, south Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay as their destination. In 1830-1930, sixty-one per cent of the Irish immigrants in Argentina were from the Midlands.⁵⁹

The origin of the emigration from the Midlands seems to have been related to the Irish soldiers in the British expeditions to the Río de la Plata in 1806 and 1807 mentioned above. Some of them remained as prisoners or deserters in Argentina and Uruguay, and were

⁵⁹ I built a database compiled from information included in Coghlan 1987 and the CEMLA Database, which considers Argentina individually. The number of Irish emigrants to other Latin American countries and territories is not documented, though in some specific colonisation or military recruitment schemes it can be calculated from contemporary records.

employed by local landowners to work in their rural holdings. Once they settled, they wrote home to their families and thus created the first chain migration schemes. The fact that a British infantry regiment was stationed at Kilbeggan, county Westmeath, and that several soldiers from this regiment were present at the Río de la Plata campaigns, may indicate the earliest links between Westmeath and Argentina.

Apart from the military connections, in 1800-1820 merchants from Mullingar, Athlone, Longford, Tullamore, and other towns in the Midlands went to Buenos Aires to open branches of British and Irish commercial houses. Thomas Armstrong of Garrycastle, county Offaly, was sent together with his brother to run the house Armstrong & Co. In 1826 Armstrong travelled back to Ireland together with John Thomond O'Brien to recruit emigrants from the Midlands. Other Westmeath merchants, William Mooney and Patrick Bookey, opened a *saladero* (meat-curing plant) that employed several Irish workers. Armstrong, Mooney, Bookey and other merchants started business enterprises that badly needed workforce. They advanced the cost of the workers' transatlantic passage and provided the initial settlement expenses, and thus obtained loyal and sometimes experienced labourers who, in their turn, would also write home to their families and friends in the Midlands.

Wexford

Wexford, in the south-east section of the island, was a stronghold of Old English families who went to Ireland from Wales, Normandy and England after the Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169-1171. They became assimilated into Irish society, and their nobility were the ruling class in the land up to the sixteenth century. A branch of Middle-English, known as *Yola*, was spoken uniquely in Wexford up until the nineteenth century. It was spoken in the Wexford baronies of Forth and Bargo, which was the most important sending area to Latin

America from this county. Sixteen percent of the Irish immigrants in Argentina in 1830-1930 were from Wexford.

The origin of Wexford emigration is owed to merchants, like Patrick Brown and James Pettit, who owned *saladeros* and other businesses employing Irish workers. In 1844, James Pettit helped hundreds of Irish from Wexford and other counties to sail from Liverpool to Buenos Aires in the barque *William Peile*. They worked in Pettit's meat-curing plant before going to the countryside.

Dublin, Cork and Clare

Emigrants also hailed from three dissimilar counties, Dublin, Cork and Clare, which contributed eleven per cent of the Irish immigrants in Argentina in 1830-1930. Dublin emigration to Latin America was not significant in quantities, though it probably contributed with the largest number of physicians, teachers, and businessmen. From Cork came soldiers and farmers – including many Irish-language speakers from the Beara peninsula – and very poor labourers recruited by immigrant agents to go to Brazil and Argentina. In spite of its small size, the Clare emigration to South America is characterised by the Irish language spoken by the majority of the migrants. They came from the rural areas of Kilkee, Kilrush and Milltown Malbay, and their connection with the region was probably due to the previous settlement of prominent merchant families like the O'Gormans from Ennis, county Clare, in Rio de Janeiro, Valparaiso, and Buenos Aires.

Antrim and Northern Ireland

Young children of traditional Scot-Irish families with Presbyterian background were sent to South America as soldiers or merchants. Among the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Irish and British Legions in Bolívar's armies of independence there were

several from Belfast and other towns of Antrim and neighbouring counties. Others went to ports in the Pacific like Valparaíso and Callao to open branches of the family merchant houses in Belfast. Many of these families were involved in the textile business, which was an important import in early-nineteenth century South America.

Incentives to Emigrate

According to Patrick McKenna, early migrants were the younger, non-inheriting sons, and later the daughters, of larger tenant farmers and leaseholders. “Usually, they were emigrating from farms which were in excess of twenty acres, and some were from farms considerably larger” (1992: 71). These farms were typically located in the rural areas of Ballymahon, Abbeyshrule, or Edgesworthtown (Longford), Multyfarnham, Ballinacarrigy, Moyvore, Ballymore, and Drumraney (Westmeath), Tullamore (Offaly), and Kilmore, Kilrane and other towns in county Wexford.

In these areas, and among the people in those social segments, the Río de la Plata region enjoyed at that time a reputation similar to that of the United States in other counties of Ireland. The real or perceived prospect of acquiring land in the pampas (called by the emigrants “Buenos Ayres” or the “Provinces of the River Plate”) was a powerful appeal to children of tenant farmers in Ireland, who would hardly have other means to progress on the social ladder. Graham Davis illustrated the contrast between the exile stories and the actual experience of the emigrants from Wexford in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas. “Where previous histories have fostered an image of oppressed victims driven into exile from their native land, I argue that emigrants were able and willing to make their own choices, weighing up future prospects against their own situation. These emigrants were predominantly small farmers from some of the most affluent parts of Ireland and possessed sufficient capital to

finance the trip and buy provisions for a year. Surviving letters point to their belief that they would do better in acquiring several thousands acres in Texas than renting a few acres in Ireland, if not for themselves, then certainly for the next generation (Davis 2002: 71).

In contemporary Mexico and in the Río de la Plata region, land acquisition was easier than in other places of the region. The information was available through letters and news from early emigrants, newspapers articles in English published in the British Isles and in North America, and travel handbooks. Additionally, since most places in Latin America were independent republics at the time of emigration (albeit strongly connected to Great Britain by trade and social links up to the World War II), most legal burdens at home would not annoy the emigrants in their adopted countries. It was perceived by the emigrants that in Latin America they would be free from debts, taxes, and other commitments that obliged them in Ireland.

The Journey

Once the decision to emigrate was made, the preparation was complex and involved a detailed exercise of travel planning. The first leg of the journey ended in Dublin. From there the emigrants crossed to Liverpool and sailed to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. Alternatively, the emigrants sailed along the established Atlantic seaway between Liverpool and North America and after a short period travelled to the Caribbean ports and finally to Brazil and the Río de la Plata. Emigrants bound to Peru and Chile in the nineteenth century usually sailed to North America, the Caribbean, and from Panama in the Pacific to South America. This may have been especially valid in the late eighteenth century, when the South Atlantic Ocean was still dominated by Spanish and Portuguese ships. Occasionally, the ports of Dublin, Cork, and Southampton were used by the emigrants to sail directly to South

America when ships were chartered to this purpose.⁶⁰ From 1840 to the 1880s the vast majority of emigrants used Liverpool as their port of departure due to the greater availability of shipping lines, frequencies, fares and accommodations. Fifty-four percent of 6,447 recorded Irish emigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1822-1929 boarded at Liverpool, followed by Queenstown (Cork's port), with twenty-eight percent.⁶¹

The land distance from Mullingar, county Westmeath, to Dublin is eighty-one kilometres, and other ports are farther than Dublin: Cork (220 km), Rosslare (200 km), Belfast (220 km), and Larne, county Antrim (130 Km). In order to reach Dublin, there were two major means of transport for the emigrants, canal barges towed by horses from 1806, and the railway from 1848. Of course, poorer emigrants would use less expensive means or just walk to save the fare. But most of them paid for their tickets, or they had them paid by employers in South America. In 1806, the Royal Canal reached Mullingar from Dublin. The Longford branch was opened in January, 1830. In total, the Royal Canal had an extension of 145 km from Dublin to River Shannon, including forty-six locks.⁶² Writers at the turn of the century had a particular fascination with some enclaves of the Royal Canal. When William Bulfin, the bicycle traveller and editor of the *Southern Cross* of Buenos Aires approached Abbeyshrule from Tenelick, he stopped to chat to a peasant and realised that he was in the famous Mill Lane of which he had heard "many a time and oft far away on the pampas", when the sun-tanned exiles of Longford and Westmeath recalled some story of Abbeyshrule and its Mill Lane.

In October 1848, heralding the decline of the importance of the Royal Canal, the Midland Great Western Railway Company (MGWR) reached Mullingar and in August 1851 the line was extended to Athlone. The railway age "signalled the demise of the canal. In 1845 the

⁶⁰ In 1848, a family called Cunningham from near Ballymore sailed to Argentina from Southampton (Illingworth 2002).

⁶¹ Database compiled from Coghlan 1987 and CEMLA.

⁶² A restoration scheme in place nowadays opened the section Dublin-Abbeyshrule for navigation by small boats.

railway company purchased the entire canal for £298,059, principally to use the property to lay a new railway. It was legally obliged to continue the canal business, but inevitably traffic fell into decline. Passenger business ceased totally within a few years and by the 1880s the annual goods tally was down to 30,000 tons” (O.P.W. Waterways 1996: 19). By November 1855, the railway reached Longford. From 1848 onwards, the railway replaced the canal as the main mean of transport to Dublin, reducing the journey time to about two hours.

In the 1850s, William Mulvihill of Ballymahon was the agent for the River Plate Steamship Co. in the Midlands.⁶³ Prospective emigrants purchased their tickets from Mulvihill’s grocery store; from Mullingar, they booked a direct rail plus boat ticket to Liverpool for £2-2s. “The fact that emigrants [to South America] were advised to bring a revolver as well as a saddle may not have deterred farmers who had been forced to protect their flocks from starving labourers [during the Famine]” (O’Brien 1999: 55). This suggests that at least some of the emigrants bound to South America (who were able to pay a higher fare than those heading to Canada and the U.S.) were able to ride a horse, a skill that would be very useful for them to cover the great distances in the pampas.

In order to cross the Irish Sea from Dublin to Liverpool, there were at least three steamer boats daily and the journey took twelve to fourteen hours. Few ships had steerage accommodations so most passengers had no shelter. From Wexford, there were boats sailing directly to Liverpool, with an estimated sail time of twelve hours. In the 1880s, Lamport & Holt’s agent in Wexford William Timpson would sell tickets to Liverpool with connections to the Río de la Plata sailing every fourteen days (Bassett 1885, 104).

When arriving at Liverpool, emigrants who boarded at Dublin and Wexford landed in Clarence Dock. Since most of the emigrants bound to Brazil and the Río de la Plata would

⁶³ There are two entries for “William Mulvihill” in Leahy 1996: 166, and one in Leahy 1990: 151.

have already purchased their tickets in Ballymahon, Mullingar or Wexford, their money was secured and had to take care only of their lodging until the boarding time. During the sail period, vessels were “expected any day now” and, if the wind was against them, they could be up to three weeks late. From the 1850s the transatlantic steamers were more regular and sailing schedules published in newspapers allowed better planning.

The transatlantic crossing was long, taking between one and three months, and the sea was a strange environment to most emigrants, especially for those from rural areas in Longford and Westmeath.⁶⁴ Nineteenth-century transatlantic transport between the British Isles and this region may be divided into two periods that correspond to advances in navigational technology: sail (1824-1850) and steam (1851-1889).

During the sail period, the numbers of Irish people emigrating to South America were still small. According to Eduardo Coghlan, between 1822 and 1850, only 1,659 Irish immigrants were registered at the Buenos Aires port, with an exceptional peak in 1849 (708 immigrants) (Coghlan 1982: 16). Steam was partially responsible for increasing this number to at least 5,419 in 1851-1889.⁶⁵ Some of the ships used by the emigrants in the first period were *Cockatrice* (1832-1844), *Spider* (1832-1850), and *Griffon* (1846-1848). Other ships, owned by private cargo companies, were important at this early stage of the Irish emigration to Argentina. For instance, the above-mentioned barque *William Peile* (or *William Peele*) sailed at least four times to the Río de la Plata. Her first voyage to Spain and South America was in the spring of 1843, carrying forty-one passengers. The second one was in June of the following year, with 114 passengers on board. She sailed again in 1845 and arrived at Buenos

⁶⁴ One of the extreme cases in lengthy journeys was “Luke Doyle, from Mullingar [...], who arrived in Buenos Aires after a five and a half month journey” (Coghlan 1987: 279). Even longer was the journey of Sarah Elliff (née Flynn). She arrived in Buenos Aires on December 1848, after a six-month journey. Her ship weighed anchor at Liverpool on 20 June 1848, with 600 passengers on board. Thirty died during the journey, and many others stayed in Rio de Janeiro (Coghlan 1987: 306).

⁶⁵ Including the 1,772 immigrants of the S.S. Dresden in 1889.

Aires with sixty-seven Irish emigrants. The *William Peile* was, according to the *Whitehaven Herald*, “a handsome new barque called William Peile in honour of the senior partner of that firm” (20 May 1843). She was a small three masted barque of 279 tons burthen, square-rigged on the fore and main masts, and fore-and-aft rigged on the mizzen mast. The ship was built in Workington, Northeast England, and launched on 13 May 1843. Her maiden voyage was from Workington departing 27 June 1843 for Cádiz and Montevideo, and then returning to England, with Liverpool as her first port of arrival, which she reached on 26 February 1844.

On 21 April 1844, the *William Peile* weighed anchor again at Liverpool under Captain Joseph Sprott’s command. He was a veteran of the North Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The *Peile* called on 13 May 1844 at Saint Jago (Cape Verde islands, about 620 km off the west coast of Senegal). After the South Atlantic crossing, she called on Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, and arrived in the Río de la Plata on 25 June 1844, making a journey of over two months (Lloyd’s List & Index 1844). Other journeys were longer. John Brabazon emigrated in 1845, and observed that the ship in which he travelled, *Filomena*, 300 tons registered and commanded by Captain Robert Bell “arrived here after three months voyage from Kingston [today’s Dún Laoghaire], Ireland, to Buenos Aires” (McKenna 1994: 145).

Some emigrants experienced grave consequences from these conditions. In 1849, Edward Robbins (1802-1866) of Clara, county Offaly, and his family went to Argentina via Liverpool:

Early in the month of March, I left for Liverpool and I arranged for a passage to Buenos Aires for myself and family with Michael McDonnald. On the 4th of April, all my family arrived at Liverpool and were kept there until the 8th of May, on which they sailed. There was much sickness on board from the neglect of the Government Inspectors at Liverpool: one man and a child died at sea. My family and myself suffered very much, [but] had a good passage and arrived at Buenos Aires on the 13th of July. [We were] in quarantine

until the 22nd on which day we landed. It was a Sunday. My family and myself counted 13, of which 10 had to go to the Irish Hospital (Robbins 1860: 11).⁶⁶

On 10 August 1849 the Robbins left the Buenos Aires Irish Hospital, but the aftermaths were appalling: Edward's wife Ann Ryan died on 21 August, their son Bernard died on 29 August, and Ann Ryan's daughter Mary Ann Coffy died on 4 September.

On these long voyages to South America, averaging from four to six weeks, the modern passenger would be faced with interminable tedium. For most of the travellers, boredom and monotony were the most annoying aspects of the journey. The Irish Sisters of Mercy, who later were in charge of the Irish Hospital of Buenos Aires, had a typical journey in one of the British Packet (Lamport & Holt) vessels:

Cheerfully did they bear the heat of the torrid zone, the monotonous days, the trying tediousness of that lengthy voyage. While most of the passengers, enervated by the fierce tropical sun, lay stretched out as if dead, they [the Sisters] were up and doing. The cooler waters of the South Temperate Zone and its beautiful, starry skies were a relief and a joy to them. After a prosperous but uneventful voyage, their vessel cast anchor in Rio, where they were detained a fortnight for the repair of the coasting steamer in which they were to continue their voyage to La Plata (Murray 1919: 172).

Fares to the Río de la Plata varied with shipping company and accommodation, and they ranged from £10 to £35. An average price paid by the emigrants can be established in £16 (McKenna 1992: 71). Later in the 1880s, an advertisement placed by The Pacific Steam Navigation Co. (Lamport & Holt), announced fares of £25 to £30 in first class, and £10 to £15 in third class (Bassett 1885: 104). On an announcement in the *Standard*, fares from Buenos Aires to Southampton were £35 (first class), £20 (second), and £15 (third) (29 June 1873, in Howat 1984: 120). The regular wage for an Irish rural labourer at that time was 7½ shillings a week, so he should have been forced to save during about a year to pay for the passage ticket to South America. This is the reason why Patrick McKenna and other scholars argue that the emigrants from the Irish Midlands and Wexford were tenants and farmers with relatively

⁶⁶ On 23 July 1849, the Buenos Aires port authorities registered twelve members of the Robbins family, who arrived in the *Vanguard* (Coghlan 1982: 96).

higher income than the emigrants to North America and other parts of the world, who were primarily labourers.

However, poor farmers and labourers without the funds to purchase their tickets to South America were financially assisted from established merchants and landowners in Latin America who were looking for skilled workers in Ireland.⁶⁷ John Murphy of Salto, Buenos Aires, encouraged a ship captain in 1864 “to bring out to this country any passengers that my brother (Martin Murphy of Haysland) arrange for, I shall hold myself accountable for the payment of same on their arrival out here.” In an enclosed separate communication to his brother, Murphy suggested to avoid “letting others to see it [the note]. But this I consider only fit for the ears of my own friends in Haysland or at least the greater part of it” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1864). In this way, Murphy did not risk the expensive cost of tickets on unskilled or unreliable workers.

The period 1851-1889 is marked by iron and steel sailing ships and, in particular, by steam. “The major effect that steam power appears to have had was that it reduced the length of the journey from around three months to about thirty days” (McKenna 1994: 147). The shorter journey was used in private letters as an argument to convince others to visit Argentina. In 1863, Fr. Anthony Fahy wrote to his superior Fr. Goodman: “I wish you would think of taking a trip out here when you are relieved from the cares of office – the steamers from Liverpool arrive here in twenty six days now! – Seven thousand miles is great travelling!” (28 August 1863, in Ussher 1951: 103). Another outcome, perhaps more important, was the possibility of scheduling journeys in advance, with the favourable consequences on simplified connections, reduced calls and expenses, and planned sailing.

⁶⁷ See for instance John Murphy to Nicholas Murphy, 15 April 1844 (Appendix C), in which John Murphy acknowledges the support of James Pettit.

During the 1860s and 70s, which marked the peak of Irish emigration to the Río de la Plata region (with the exception of 1889), the most active shipping company was Lamport & Holt, owners of the Liverpool, Brazil and River Plate Steam Navigation Co. Lamport & Holt was established in 1845. In 1863, they began to sail to and from Brazil and the Río de la Plata. In that year, “the Company despatched two vessels to South America from Liverpool; in 1864, 8; in 1865, 24; and in 1866, 41” (Howat 1984: 159). Their business was carefully planned, as part of the migration market that began to increase significantly during those years.

The number of British settlers in these States [Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina] is immensely large – and, unlike most other fields which attract Emigration, they comprise all classes of society from Upper middle class downwards. A very great number of the estancias and saladeros (ranches and meat-salting plants) in the country are the property of and managed and worked by Englishmen (Lamport to Scudamore, 15 June 1868, in: Howat 1984: 161).

In 1892 “the voyage direct, in 22 days, is not so amusing as when the steamer touches at various ports. In the former case Madeira is generally sighted on the fifth day, and Montevideo 17 days later. Nine times out of ten the sea is as calm as a mill-pond, except crossing the Bay of Biscay. The distance from Southampton to Montevideo is 6,126 nautical, equal to 6,739 English statute, miles” (Mulhall 1892: 67). He adds that

...Lisbon is reached on the fifth day from England, [...] the Canary Islands are 4 days from Lisbon, Cape Verds are 3 days from the Canaries, Fernando Noronha (a small, rocky island used as a Brazilian penal settlement, and has a lighthouse) is sighted on the seventh day from Cape Verds, the first point of the continent visible is Cape San Roque, which juts out into the Atlantic, 200 miles N. of Pernambuco. [...] From Pernambuco to Bahia is only 36 hours by sea, distance 450 miles. Rio Janeyro is 860 miles from Bahia, the voyage taking 3 days. From Rio Janeyro to Montevideo is 1,100 miles, and takes from 4 to 5 days, according to weather. Stiff pamperos are sometimes met with off the mouth of the River Plate, where the numerous sandbanks made the navigation so difficult in the old times of sailing vessels that sailors called it Boca de Infierno. Even before land be in sight the colour of the ocean is changed by the volume of fresh water from the River Plate, 52 million cubic feet per minute. [...] Montevideo is seen to great advantage from the bay, the Cerro completing the picture. [...] At Buenos Ayres the customs officers are very polite, but will certainly charge duty on whatever may not be for personal use in the passenger's baggage (Mulhall 1892: 67-73).

Before the 1880s, the most important ship carrying Irish emigrants was *La Zingara*, the smallest vessel of Thomas B. Royden & Co fleet. She was built in 1860, in Liverpool, and was registered in the Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping in 1861. The rigging was a barque, sheathed in yellow metal in 1860, fastened with copper bolts (287 tons). The captain was George Sanders. John Murphy remarks that "passages on *La Zingara* are cheaper than other vessels like the *Raymond* from Dublin (Captain Lenders)" (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1864).

The S.S. *Dresden* was the ship that carried "the largest number of passengers ever to arrive in Argentina from any one destination on any one vessel" (Geraghty 1999). This event was the outcome of the deceitful immigration scheme managed by the Argentine government agents in Ireland Buckley O'Meara and John Stephen Dillon, a brother of Fr. Patrick J. Dillon, founder the *Southern Cross*, National Deputy for Buenos Aires, and notorious leader of the Irish community. The affair "became infamous and was denounced in Parliament, press and pulpit" (Geraghty 1999). These emigrants came from poor urban areas of Dublin, Cork, and Limerick and most of the adults were city labourers and servants. Upon arrival, some were assisted by Irish-Argentine families well established in the country or found jobs in Buenos Aires, but most of them were deceived by unscrupulous agents and were abandoned in remote areas. Some of the emigrants (especially children) died in Argentina of hunger and related illnesses, which were typical of the miserable situation they left in Ireland. The bad press got by these events was enough to stop Irish emigration to South America almost completely for some decades.

The *Dresden* arrived at Buenos Aires from Queenstown (now Cobh) and Southampton on 15 February 1889, with 1,772 passengers on board. According to their only friend, Fr. Gaughran, they

were allowed to land on Saturday when the authorities well knew there was no accommodation for them. Many hundreds of these poor people had not received orders for the [Immigrants] hotel before leaving the ship, and weary hours were spent in the struggle to get to the table where these orders were issued. Then, the orders obtained, strong men could fight their way through the throng of Italians [who arrived the same day in the *Duchesa di Genova*] into the dining hall, but the weak, the women and children were left supperless. It was soon evident that unless some special arrangements were made even the shelter of a roof could not be obtained [...]. Men, women and children, hungry and exhausted after the fatigues of the day, had to sleep at best they might on the flags of the court-yard. To say they were treated like cattle would at least provide them with food and drink, but these poor people were left to live or die unaided by the officials who are paid to look after them, and without the slightest sign of sympathy from these officials. I am told that as a result a child died during the night of exhaustion. In England those responsible would be prosecuted for manslaughter, but in this land of liberty no one minds (Murray 1919: 443-444).

The British chargé d'affaires in Buenos Aires, George Jenner, reported that "the Argentine officers are mainly responsible for the mismanagement of the Irish immigration. Their offices in Ireland have, in more than one instance, allowed the propaganda for emigrants to fall into the hands of totally untrustworthy persons, who have recruited numbers of worthless characters, including prostitutes and beggars, and many shiftless individuals and families utterly unfit to carry on the struggle for existence in the Argentine Republic" (Jenner to Salisbury, 21 February 1889).

Due to the bad press created by the Dresden Affair and to the financial crisis of 1890, during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, relatively few Irish emigrants selected South America as their final destination. In the 1920s, however, there was a new peak of arrivals from Ireland (seventy-six per cent of 1900-1929 Ireland-born passengers arrived in the 1920s), in which many of immigrants were educated urban professionals, with a high proportion of Protestants. This increase may have been a consequence of political, social, and economic turmoil in Ireland. However, it ended in late 1929, as a consequence of the global financial crisis that seriously affected economic growth and employment rates in Latin America.

By this time business opportunities in Latin America decreased due changes in the international markets, in which cattle and cereal became the increasingly dominant export. In

Argentina, Irish *estancieros* began hiring immigrants of other origins, particularly from Italy, as tenants to till their land. At the same time, the Irish families joined the urban middle classes of South American cities in a process that would last until the mid-nineteenth century.

As a consequence of social factors partially originated by increasing economic dependence on the U.S. and Europe, migration flows changed the direction and are still growing from Latin America to more economically developed regions. At the present time, some of the descendants of Irish immigrants are returning to Ireland. With the remarkable technological changes in intercontinental travel and circulation of knowledge after the World War II, the journey is not a barrier anymore. The major struggle of the immigrants today is to obtain work permits in Ireland, which as part of European rules is increasingly closing its frontiers to African and Latin American immigration.

Settlement Areas

According to the different immigration periods, the Irish who arrived in the region settled in diverse areas, returned to Ireland or re-migrated to other parts of the world. The region has been divided in five settlement areas according to chronological and geographic criteria.

Hispanic North America, Mexico, and the Caribbean

With the exception of the Texas colonies and certain islands in the West Indies, most of the Irish immigrants in Mexico, the former Spanish colonies and territories in North America, and the Caribbean were one-off cases of mercantile entrepreneurship or business rules and strategies. On the commercial side merchants, employees, planters and crew members crowded British ships. They endeavoured to start up new businesses in the area, often based in Caribbean and Pacific ports. Particularly in the nineteenth century, some wealthy families sent their representatives to open branches of their merchant houses. The O’Farrill family of

the city of Mexico and the Murphy family of Veracruz are but two examples. On the other hand, Irish officers and other soldiers in the Spanish army were stationed in New Spain and Louisiana. Catholic missionaries also settled in this area, especially during colonial times, as well as Protestant ministers and itinerant preachers during and after the revolutionary period, who travelled and resided temporarily in Mexico. Finally, the most volatile migration was that of the military forces in which Irish-born or descended soldiers serviced in Spanish, Mexican, British and U.S. armies.⁶⁸

The Irish colonies in Mexican and revolutionary Texas were successful undertakings of the Mexican government and Irish *empresarios* who were granted large land extensions in Refugio and San Patricio. Colonists predominantly from county Wexford were attracted by the possibility of becoming landowners in Mexico, and in many cases succeeded to adapt to the new environment. Some Irish became owners of sugar, tobacco and other plantations in the Caribbean. Less fortunate Irish were sent as indentured labourers to work in those and other plantations, mines, and businesses. In Montserrat, Barbados, and Jamaica the Irish formed permanent or temporary communities that maintained their Irish identity. But in most cases they finally integrated into the receiving societies and contributed to the cultural *mestizaje* of the region.

Venezuela, Colombia, and Central America

The Irish presence in these countries was almost exclusively associated with military action during the Wars of Independence. Thousands of “soldiers of fortune” were recruited in Ireland and England to fight in Simón Bolívar’s army for the independence of Great Colombia against Spain. The British and Irish soldiers were credited with the victories at

⁶⁸ Most notably the San Patricio battalion in the U.S.-Mexico war 1846-1848, the Ultonia Regiment stationed in New Spain in 1768-1771, the invading British forces in Cuba in 1762, and individual high-rank officers like Leopoldo O’Donnell in Cuba or Juan O’Donojú in Mexico.

Boyacá, Carabobo and Pichincha. Casualty and desertion rates were very high, with only a few remaining in South America after the war.⁶⁹

Pacific South America (Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile)

In the late eighteenth century the ports on the Pacific coast of South America became important centres of trade and social exchange. Agricultural and mining products were being exported only on a marginal basis. With the introduction of British capital, technology, and management, exports boosted and thus local and international manpower was employed in local and foreign firms. Some Irish were engaged as mid-management and labourers. In some cases they achieved notoriety in business. Cork-born William Russell Grace (1832-1904) established a commercial house in the Peruvian port of Callao, which eventually became an international company with branches in many cities of the Americas. John Thomond O'Brien, an officer in the Argentine and Chilean wars of independence, started a silver mining business in the Puno region between Peru and Bolivia. Equally, Juan N. Macay, William Sheen, and John Boland of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are examples of Irish-born entrepreneurs who settled in the region and successfully exploited the flourishing agricultural and mining industries.

Brazil and the Guianas

Irish settlements in the huge Atlantic and central region of South America were first attracted by seventeenth-century plantations in the river Amazon. Further immigration followed with missionaries and military recruitment for the Brazilian forces in early

⁶⁹ Among them, Francisco Burdett O'Connor (1791-1871), officer in the Irish Legion, later chief of staff to Antonio José de Sucre and minister of war in Bolivia; Thomas Charles James Wright (1799-1868), officer in Simón Bolívar's army and founder of the Ecuadorian naval school; and Daniel Florence O'Leary (c.1802-1854), officer and Bolívar's aide-de-camp and biographer.

nineteenth-century and the undertakings to establish Irish colonies in Rio de Janeiro and Santa Catarina.

Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay

The pampas of Argentina, southern Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay (identified in the early nineteenth century as the Río de la Plata provinces) received the most important Irish settlement in Latin America. They were attracted to this region by the availability of cheap and fertile land, which facilitated the economic insertion of shepherds, and the further development of the English-speaking community within the context of significant British capital investment in the region.

Return Migration and Re-Migration

Frequently neglected in migration history, the experience of return migrants is seldom represented in the Irish-Latin American press, fiction and private documents. It is estimated that one out of every two immigrant returned to Ireland or re-migrated to other destinations of the Irish Diaspora. The return and re-migration rates were higher in the period 1880-1930, when land was not available at reasonable prices in the pampas of South America and competition for jobs was increasing. In that period employment in England, the United States, Australia, and other places was more attractive for the Irish than in Latin American urban and commercial centres.

As in other immigrant communities, homecoming was a vital concept though fluctuating from a definitive plan for the first settlers to a remote possibility for their children born in Latin America. As shown in many works in this thesis, immigrants fantasised with the possibility of becoming prosperous in Latin America and returning home. The most frequent letter writer in Appendix C, John Murphy, actually went back to Wexford and lived there

from 1878 to 1881. He left his brothers William and Patrick in charge of two *estancias* in Salto and Rojas, province of Buenos Aires, and took over the family farms in Wexford. But he lost a young daughter and a son in Ireland and, according to his other daughter Emily, John Murphy announced that he was “leaving [Ireland] and not coming back: the Argentine has never treated me like this” (Murphy 1909: 3).

Many others returned to the British Isles and swiftly changed their minds and went to other locations within the British Empire. After having worked for about fifteen years as a merchant in Buenos Aires, in 1852 James Pettit went to Liverpool with his young son John James Pettit and from there to Victoria, Australia. The correspondence with the cousins in Argentina continued and is also cited in this thesis.

Conclusion

The Irish in Latin America and the Caribbean have been a mobile and adaptable group. The first waves from Ireland to the region accompanied the colonial enterprise of the European powers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Missionaries, soldiers, and planters were members of Spanish, British, Portuguese, and French settlements in the region. They were followed by ubiquitous merchants, who integrated into transatlantic networks north and south of the Ecuador line, and mercenaries recruited to fight in the South American wars of independence. The extended plains of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay attracted tens of thousands of Irish farmers who hoped to own land and thus climb in the social ladder. The largest Irish community in the region was formed in the pampas of the Río de la Plata, where the settlers established churches, clubs, associations, and political groups, and later supported Irish nationalism and independence from England. Diplomatic relations were established in the mid-twentieth century and Irish missions were opened in Brasília,

Buenos Aires, and Mexico. By the time of the Falklands War, the Irish were completely integrated into the local societies and very few traditions of the original immigrants survived. In the first years of the twenty-first century renewed links were created between Ireland and the descendants of the immigrants in the region, with greater interest to research Irish Studies and to reaffirm their identity in the region.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, in order to reach Dublin most of the emigrants from the Midlands bound to Brazil and the Río de la Plata used a combination of Bianconi coaches and Royal Canal barges. From Dublin, they took the steam-ship service to Liverpool. Emigrants from county Wexford would sail directly from Wexford town to Liverpool. After a short staying at Liverpool, the emigrants sailed to South America. Fares were relatively high, and in some cases were paid by Irish employers in the destination.

From 1851, the railway replaced other means of transport from the Midlands to Dublin. About at the same time steam replaced sail in the South Atlantic seaway. The journey shortened to one month and turned more secure for passengers. This facilitated emigration in the 1860s and 1870s. Following the massive European emigration to South America, in 1889 the Dresden Affair almost put an end to the region as a destination of emigration from Ireland, with unimportant numbers at the turn of the century and a small peak in the 1920s.

This chapter explored the incentives to emigrate, different settlements, and material aspects of transportation. The passenger lists, census records, and other archival sources thus integrate into further cultural-historical studies. This knowledge explores relations among passengers, including kinship, friendship, class, gender, and religion. Being the principal focus of this thesis the study of cultural relations and representations of the Irish in Latin America, the following chapters concentrate on the discourses of the immigrants and their social institutions, and their most important representations.

CHAPTER FOUR

NARRATIVES I: PRIVATE DOCUMENTS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Introduction

The present chapter explores the language and the cultural elements present in emigrant letters and memoirs. Even if conclusions have to be carefully analysed owing to lack of representation, this type of sources are important and very useful to understand the individual letter or autobiography writers and their immediate circle.

The language in epistolary texts may be considered a priori a monologue. However, letters convey two types of dialogic exchanges. The messages addressed among two or more correspondents can be considered a linguistic exchange *per se*. In almost every letter of the Murphy collection included in this thesis as Appendix C there is at least one reference to another letter. In some cases, the frequency of these references is very high. Some examples are: “Many months has lapsed since your letter came to hand” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 July 1863); “I received your letter after coming on board” (13 November 1863); “Your letter of 6th March I received on the 8th May” (John Murphy to James Furlong, 22 December 1865). On the other hand, the ostensibly monologicistic speech of a letter includes a variety of voices and exchange among different speakers. “I have the pleasure of telling you all that we are in the best of spirits” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 15 April 1844) is an obvious reply – a reaction – to the worries of Murphy’s parents when he first emigrated to South America.

This chapter is based on the Murphy letters and other correspondence series like the letters to John James Pettit in Australia, as well as John Macnie’s published memoirs *Work and Play in the Argentine*.

Emigrant Letters

The world of symbols in which the Irish in South America interacted among them, with relations in Ireland, and with other social groups, include certain marks that represent multiple images. In Ireland and in Latin America economic success has traditionally been perceived to be in relation to the quantity and quality of land possessed. But for the letter writers “land” is not only a signifier of wealth but also, and considerably more important for them, of social standing. Traditionally, land property in Ireland was reserved for a select group, being several of them absent landlords who resided in the cities of Ireland, England and Scotland. The tenants were subject to unfair rises of rents, variable tenure leases, threats of eviction, and a practical impossibility to own the land in which they lived and worked. This situation originated structural divides in classes, and an elite-controlled society in which landlords, tenants, and labourers were locked to mobility. The separation of the landownership-related orders was aggravated by ethnical and religious factors. The studied letters are explicit regarding the tenants’ hopeless prospects to own their farms in Ireland and their fervent expectation to access to what they imagined as landed gentry in Latin America.

Further to core signifiers like “land” or “home”, other symbols may be identified in the practical communications that are included in the letters. Requests for clothes, seeds, books, and other quotidian objects considered difficult to find in the Río de la Plata are frequent in the letters.⁷⁰ Comments about potential emigrants, the weather, wool and agricultural markets, shipping, movement and health of family and friends, social and church news, and political developments in the South American republics are examples of other subjects covered by the letter writers.

⁷⁰ One letter requests the delivery of a gig, a horse-driven carriage, from Ireland to the Río de la Plata (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, *circa* July 1864).

As mentioned above, the thoughts and values expressed in these letters cannot be taken as a valid sample of attitudes for the whole community of Irish immigrants. The surviving document tends to be the one that families consider important, normally meaning that they present the history of the family in a positive light, or that include a possible benefit to future generations.⁷¹ On the other hand, these documents are a minimal fraction of the massive correspondence sent during two centuries by thousands of Irish migrants who used to write frequently, sometimes monthly, to their family and friends in Ireland, England, the United States, Australia, and other parts of the world. However, this lack of statistical representation does not invalidate the fact that the letters shed much light on the process of migration, the lives of the migrants in their new country and, particularly, their views regarding the receiving societies. Without trying to extrapolate the results, there is an intrinsic reward to the researcher in the careful reading and analysis of these letters. The privacy and intimate atmosphere in which they were written and read is a key to understand their value, which allows us to quickly grasp attitudes about different aspects that would be difficult to identify in other cultural artefacts.

I chose to analyse the letters in the Anastasia Joyce and Andrew Pettit collections for practical reasons. There are very few pieces in public archives in which the letter writers are Irish immigrants in Latin America. They include a significant number of letters, and cover an important period in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷² Finally, I was privileged to work with the manuscripts of the Anastasia Joyce collection in Ireland and Switzerland,

⁷¹ A further study on the common characteristics of the people who keep family papers, documents, and photographs during their lifetime would be worthy. I have noticed that these people tend to be extremely cautious to share the papers with others. Manuscripts are held in the most furtive reserve and, when there is the fortunate case of someone who wants to make the family collection available to researchers, not all the documents are revealed. Sometimes, the real motivation to hang on to family papers is their imagined economic value and the hope to sell them as historical documents (although this is excused with attachment to family lore).

⁷² The Anastasia Joyce collection includes 135 letters written in 1844-1886, fifty-seven photographs from *circa* 1880 to 1933, as well as cheques, receipts and a schedule of a steam shipping company. The Andrew Pettit collection includes twenty-seven letters from 1864 to 1875, photographs, and other documents.

before I scanned and sent them on deposit to the Society for Irish Latin American Studies (SILAS) collection at Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires.⁷³ The Andrew Pettit collection was scanned and transcribed by Andrew Pettit of Australia and sent on disk, including the scanned images of the letters.

The Anastasia Joyce Collection

The Murphys lived in Haysland, in the Kilrane parish of county Wexford. They were a traditional farming family who occupied two farms leased from an absent landlady. They were Catholic and conservative, yet progressive in business and agricultural methods and adhered to the tenant land movements in Ireland. They were well-connected, sometimes through family ties, with other middle-class rural families in their parish, and with the social networks led by prominent members of the Catholic Church in Wexford.

In 1844, as part of an emigration scheme organised by James Pettit of Buenos Aires, Nicholas Murphy's eldest son John and other young men and women from Kilrane sailed to Liverpool and from there to the Río de la Plata, arriving two months later in the *William Peile*. Upon arrival, John probably worked in Patrick Browne's *saladero*, and went to work in the countryside. In Chascomús, a department south of Buenos Aires, he laboured in a local *estancia*. Ten years after his arrival in Argentina, John managed to rent land in Salto. It was an *estancia* ten times larger than the farms of his family in Ireland. He transformed the property to a model sheep-farm that was the base of his future prosperity, and purchased the long-term lease contract with the government. In 1864 he added 4,000 hectares in nearby Rojas, and in 1882 he consolidated his properties with the acquisition of 20,000 hectares in

⁷³ The collection was handed to me during a visit to Kilmore, County Wexford, in August 2002 by Mary Anglim, a niece of Anastasia Joyce. Two further packets with letters and photographs were sent later to me in Switzerland. I catalogued the papers, transcribed the letters, and scanned all the documents before the donation to SILAS. I am thankful to Vivian Sheridan and Edward Walsh, who revised the transcriptions and provided valuable corrections and contributions.

Venado Tuerto, southern Santa Fe. Murphy died in 1909, a wealthy man and patriarchal head of a large family. His brothers William and Patrick followed him to the pampas, and Martin remained in Ireland as their agent. They initiated, thus, a long migration network including cousins and other family relations, as well as friends and neighbours, who settled in the lush area between Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Uruguay.

From the perspective of traditional historiography, Murphy was the typical Irish emigrant to Argentina. He came from county Wexford, where his father was a tenant of a mid-size farm. He arrived at Buenos Aires at twenty-two, and progressed from labourer to shepherd at halves, to owner of his means of production (land and sheep), and finally to large landlord and member of the Argentine landed elite. He had a prominent role in the Buenos Aires society and in the Irish and English-speaking community.

A careful reading of his letters sheds light on his thoughts, which sometimes reveal a supercilious attitude, trying to impose his ideology and his points of view to others. This attitude may have been derived from a lack of recognition from his social relations in Ireland. His emigration was not for patriotic reasons but for economic opportunism. Murphy twice returned to Ireland with the idea to reside at home receiving the income of his properties in Argentina. The first time he returned to Argentina when suspected that his brothers were mismanaging his rural business. The second time he could not face the rigid social and political structure in Ireland. He always insisted that his family and friends follow him to South America, and he offered to pay the expensive passage tickets to potential workers in his *estancias* (subsequently deducting the cost from their salaries or share of the profits).

Other writers of these letters are John Murphy's brothers, who reveal similar attitudes but with a better adaptation to the new environment in the pampas. This collection of letters is of great utility to migration students. It does not only show the day-to-day life of nineteenth-

century Irish settlers in the region, but also renders a good representation of values and principles in certain social groups in Ireland and Argentina.

Writer	Quantity	Per cent
John James Murphy	76	56%
William Murphy	13	10%
Patrick Murphy	10	7%
Lamport & Holt (various writers)	10	7%
Clement Reville	5	4%
Eliza Murphy	5	4%
J. Kennedy (National Bank Ltd.)	3	2%
S. Wright Kelso & Co	3	2%
Francis Doyle	2	1%
Captain Sanders	1	1%
Catherine E. Murphy	1	1%
Cissie M. Gahan	1	1%
Edward Kavanagh	1	1%
F. Donovan	1	1%
John Parker	1	1%
Kenny	1	1%
Martin Keough	1	1%
Total	135	100%

Table 2. Distribution of letter writers in the Anastasia Joyce Collection.

The Andrew Pettit Collection

John James Pettit was born in 1841 in Buenos Aires. Ten years earlier his parents emigrated from Wexford to Buenos Aires. His father, James Pettit, was married to a daughter of Edward Murphy and Mary Dowling. She died in Buenos Aires a few months after John James was born. At eleven John James went with his father to Australia and settled in Dunolly, Victoria. They left the grave of Mrs. Pettit in Buenos Aires, and several cousins of the Murphy and Moore families.

Sally Moore, Fanny Murphy and Kate Murphy are the most frequent writers of these letters. They were happy, sparkling young women, who wished to keep the family united in spite of the huge distance between South America and Australia. In their letters, they reported the latest news about the family, the country and old-time friends of John James' father. They

sent and asked for “likenesses” (photographs) and used irony and family personal codes so that a far-away cousin may not feel alone. They also competed in secret for his favours.

This collection covers eleven years from 1864 to 1875, including sombre times like a cholera outbreak during which some members of the family died. Sally, the most loyal correspondent, hardened her style and her tone reflected some of her own frustrations as an unmarried middle-age woman.

In these letters there is a predominant feminine tone and views. Besides, there is an urban perspective that is typical of a growing city like Buenos Aires. With the exception of the first letter, all the writers were born in Argentina and never visited Ireland or Australia. However, the geographic dynamics of the Irish Diaspora can be read in the letters. Emigrants chose a destination based on careful pondering of the information available; once in the area, they stayed if successful – but if the conditions were adverse they returned home or moved elsewhere. This *modus operandi*, in addition to the gradual technical improvement and modernisation of communications and transport would lead to an increasingly global community and attitudes.⁷⁴

Writer	Quantity	Percent
Sally (Sarah) Moore	17	63%
Fanny Murphy	4	15%
Kate Murphy	4	15%
W. O'Neill	1	4%
Patrick Moore	1	4%
Total	27	100%

Table 3. Distribution of letter writers in the Andrew Pettit Collection.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ By 1870 a letter from Argentina took sixty days to arrive in Australia.

⁷⁵ I am grateful to Andrew Pettit of Melbourne, Australia, for giving me access to his collection of family letters and providing the transcriptions. He also afforded access to his collection of valuable post cards, photographs, maps, documents and other memorabilia.

Topical Structure

I worked with the above collections of letters using different approaches. My initial focus was interpretative. The changing and sometimes arduous hand-writing of the writers and their wide treatment of subjects and unknown contexts made interpretation difficult and several transcriptions and readings were necessary to elucidate the most evident meaning. The second approach was historical; the letters provide a huge amount of qualitative data about these families and, by careful extension, of their social groups. I had therefore put that information in the general contexts of contemporary Ireland and South America, and at the same time disputed some of the generally accepted ideas about the Irish in the region and their cultural representations. Finally, a linguistic method of discourse analysis was attempted with insufficient results. Structural and organisational discourse analysis successfully tested in recorded dialogues and other oral contexts did not apply efficiently to the study of emigrant letters (Roulet 1999, Filliettaz 2002).

The topical analysis included in other studies served as a blueprint to a new approach in the examination of these letters (Fitzpatrick 1994). Topical analysis originated in the study of sacred scriptures. Identifying and locating passages that support one or another theological position or aid the efforts of religious teaching is one of the traditional functions of the classification of topics. On the other hand, the literary study of topics is related to the arguments or subjects for discussion of a piece of writing or speech. In the series of correspondence, silences and omissions of certain topics (“themes” as they are described by David Fitzpatrick) are as eloquent of the broader context as those that are clearly exposed. For this reason, a cautious interpretation is necessary to avoid misleading conclusions.

Letters were very important to Murphy, Pettit and other families and to their relations; they were potentially “an effective instrument for defining and modifying human relationships”

(Fitzpatrick 1994: 23). Often the content of the letters was performative because the desired effect of the writers sought a specific action or a change of behaviour on their readers. Letters are a source of the emigrants' "psychological revelation" (24), and uncover not only their character but also that of the readers.

The epistolary discourse includes formalised conventional prescriptions and structural codes of salutations, references to health, religion or to other letters, as well as models of composition and patterns. "Dear Father and ever affectionate Mother", "Dear brother", "My dear and affectionate friends", "My dearest Cousin" are formulae to open the letters. Some closing codes are the more elaborated "hoping to wishing to be remember[ed] to all I remain your dear brother", "Adieu, I remain dear brother, yours affectionately", "Adieu dear friends and believe me to be your dear brother". References to health are very frequent, and their position in the letter structure usually follows the opening greeting or immediately before the closing salutation: "I hope your father is getting good health lately and is no worse for the weakness of his eyes", "My mother and all our family are in good health thanks be to God", "your prayers I solicit for the spiritual and temporal welfare of your dear loving brother", "My mother and sister join me in love to you hoping that you are enjoying good health", "I received [...] yours [...] which relieved us of much anxiety to hear of you all being in good health, particularly they young lads", "having nothing interesting to communicate to you, save the news of our good health", "I am glad to see that things are going on well with you at home, and more particularly, that you all enjoy good health, this great blessing. We all here are in possession of also, thanks be to God for his Mercies." References to religious faith are more formulaic and conventional: "We leave now and God be with you all", "arrived here Rio de Janeiro on Friday 4th in good health and spirits, thanks be to God", "and with God's help and our own perseverance soon expect to have clear of all encumbrances", "you would be

surprised to see the change the Almighty has been good enough to make in the appearance of the camps”, “we lost a second father when we lost poor Uncle Mike but God’s will be done.”

The vast majority of the letters in both collections studied for this thesis present an established structure or pattern. This may have been derived from the Irish formal or informal schooling system, in which composition of letters was an important subject. In 1872 letter writing was a “part of the standard national curriculum, the élite sixth class being required ‘to write, with correct grammar and composition, a simple letter on any subject suggested by the Inspector’” (Fitzpatrick 1994: 500). Most letters follow the model in Table 4:

Parts	Examples
Place, date	Uncalito, 20th May 1864
Greeting	My Dear Brothers & Sisters, Dear Martin
Reference: correspondence	I have had the pleasure of receiving yours and James' letters, and some of the papers. Others has gone astray.
	By your letter of the 7th June, which duly came to hand, I perceive you had no account of the arrival of the Zingara at that time. Also that you had not received the letter I sent containing the particulars about ...
	This day yours of the 7th May came to hand ...
Reference: health, faith	I am glad to see that things are going on well with you at home, and more particularly, that you all enjoy good health, this great blessing. We all here are in possession of also, thanks be to God for his Mercies.
	We are all going on as usual in the enjoyment of good health.
Matter	At present I have but little news to send you from the camps, but ...
	The War still continues as heretofore, but there are some talks of a treaty of peace ...
Salutation (closing)	Hoping that this may find you all in the enjoyment of good health and spirits, in the prayers of your ever sincere and affectionate brother, ...
	Wishing to be kindly remembered to all friends and hoping this will find you all well, I remain your affectionate brother, ...
	In conclusion I hope this will find all friends in the enjoyment [of] good health. Mrs. and all friends [wish] to be remembered to you all and I remain [torn] your dear and affectionate brother, ...
Signature	John Murphy
Postscript	Dear Brother, Send me out as quick as possible the woman, or word of her not coming as the matters leaves me at present not at liberty to look after any one. J. J. M.
	Perhaps I will write from B. Ayres next month, but don't you put yourself to the least inconvenience in sending out any one.
	Send me out the recipe of how to make both the ointment and the Liquid Blister for horses, the quantity of flies &c. in each sort of Blister. Get it from James Pitt, his son John is marine.

Table 4. Model of conventional sequences in the Murphy and Pettit letters.

Adapted to diverse readers, tones, and formal or familiar situations this pattern was more or less followed by almost all letter writers in the two collections. The letter models were related to conventional rules of politeness and symbolic standards of good education and thus social status and reputation, and intended to situate in an educated (thus well-off) social position with respect to the readers.

The matter and intentions of the letters throughout the period of the series are as varied as their writers and goals. Among family relations, most letters from South America to Ireland include requests for domestic and business paraphernalia: socks, flannel drawers, paper, saddles, carrot and other seeds, hedge clippers, ploughs, harnesses, gigs, newspapers, blankets, shirts, comforter quilts. News from the rural business, including wool, cattle and land prices were primary information. Also news from the country, politics, wars, weather, security, were all read with interest. News from family and friends occupied many paragraphs, including new-borns, marriages or deaths, people leaving and going back to Ireland or to other countries. Social gatherings, including sports and athletics, celebrations, religious rites, community affairs, and arrangements for the migration of family relations, friends, neighbours, and labourers were also recurrent themes. Occasionally, there were appeals and reprimands to brothers and sisters, and requests for assistance and help.

Topics are not only identified in the text of the letters, but also in the enclosures. Family photographs, *cartes de visite* in particular, were appreciated to a great extent in both sides of the Atlantic.⁷⁶ Newspaper clips or complete issues, business receipts, other letters from the family or friends and, especially, cheques and remittances were an important part of the communication and were cited and referred to in several letters. When William Murphy announced his marriage to his brother Martin in Wexford, he included “the clip that you may through James or John have it inserted in the Wexford paper”. He added “a photograph we have taken rather for a part for husband and wife but it was taken previous to our marriage” (24 November 1863). His younger brother Patrick wrote to Martin to inform that he “was very glad to hear you received the likeness all right. And as you remark, we all look pretty well. I am happy to inform you that none of us, I really believe, were flattered in the photographs.

⁷⁶ *Cartes de visite*, personal photographs, were small albumen prints mounted on cards 6.5 by 10 centimetres. After their invention in France by André Adolphe Disderi in 1854 they became very popular in many countries. In Brazil, and later in Uruguay and Argentina, the *cartes de visite* were introduced by Federico Artigue in the late 1850s.

Mary looks well, is hale and healthy. I am, as you say, much stouter than ever I was” (10 August 1873). Not without irony, Kate Murphy in Buenos Aires scolds his cousin John James Pettit in Melbourne and tells him that “all the family, as well as myself, felt quite indignant with you for sending your treasured photograph to your cousins Sally and Fanny and not to any of our family” (26 January 1867). John Murphy tells his sister Margaret, “in case your wedding take place the little present I send to you the 20£ you will endeavour to make it reach to buy the little necessities suitable for the occasion. Out of same you will buy as a token of remembrance of me *one* gold bracelet to wear on your right arm. Let it be a good one. You may likely get one at Simpson’s, as I can have no way of sending you one from here in time, in case the ceremony ~~will~~ go on” (25 March 1865, original emphasis).

Putting Values to Work: Material Success and Social Achievement

Among the various possibilities offered by emigrant letters, I selected those values associated with social and economic success. The representation of these values by the letter writers is a test to the hypothesis that the narratives of the Irish in Latin America are an appropriate illustration of shared principles and behaviours.

Economic achievement after emigration is for the Irish in Latin America a fundamental objective, and represents multiple values. Material success is the vehicle to attain a higher social standing than the one the emigrant was supposed to fall in according to his or her birth and family position. It is also a confirmation that the efforts and costs (usually afforded or shared by the family, neighbours and friends) of the emigration journey have paid. These views were influenced by a work ethic that was prevalent in nineteenth-century rural Ireland, by which economic prosperity was a confirmation that the individual was predestined to belonging to the Ireland’s best sons and daughters. This adaptation of the Calvinist world

view was strongly influential among young tenant farmers in the island, and was a driving force on their plans to emigrate.

The goal to become “independent” – i.e., not depending on a landlord or any other person for one’s livelihood – and to achieve a “comfortable” life is intimately associated with the Irish conception of social standing. Only the owners of their means of production (land and cattle or sheep) can join the landlord class. In Latin America, tenant farmers are able to free from their economic and social commitments and may have access to working capital. The third group, landless labourers, have no possibilities to improve their lot.

Fr. Edward Kavanagh (1801-1880) of County Wexford arrived in Buenos Aires in February 1851 and was appointed the Irish Catholic chaplain to the southern districts of Buenos Aires. In this position, he was largely influential in the Irish community and his views were important as representative of group’s values. According to Fr. Kavanagh writing to a woman in Ireland about her sons in Argentina, “John is perfectly independent and William is this year establishing himself through the instrumentality of John with a flock of sheep, which is the chief way of getting on in this country. John and William are esteemed and respected by all who know them, and are a credit to Wexford” (Fr Edward Kavanagh to Catherine Murphy, 1 February 1853). The Murphy brothers were “esteemed and respected” more than anything because of their ability to acquire sheep and later land. In Fr. Kavanagh’s opinion, being “independent” is a positive value with favourable social and moral implications.

About ten years later, John Murphy was achieving economic success as a sheep farmer and was one of the advocates of emigration to the pampas. “Dear Friends, you will likely know in the course of a year or two how things will do with you in that country and don’t fret or be scared if you should fail in your endeavours to live comfortable and independent” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1864). The risks of failure in “that country” (Ireland),

can be avoided through emigration. In another letter he expands on the situation of the Irish tenant farmers, who “cannot make out of the land the amount that is necessary to keep them living (even) comfortable. However I will not say that such cannot be done but I assure you would take a better head than mine to see how it is to be effected unless the things change very much” (John Murphy to James Furlong, 22 December 1864). Murphy insists to his brothers and sister in Ireland on the convenience to emigrate as the only possible way to climb the social ladder: “I wish to convey to you that it’s my wishes that you should live happy, comfortable, and independent. You have no need to depend on Haysland for means to do so, as I know how hard it is to live comfortable in a farm of land” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 March 1864).

In another letter John Murphy explains in further detail his views on economic achievement in relation to social position. He concedes that there might be other ways to be happy independently of material success, and considers himself “liberal enough to admit that happiness can be enjoyed in every position in life. But we must first make ourselves philosophers to do so, and cultivate the mind to that perfection which to individuals like us I fear would be the most difficult task I know of. This being wanting, we must replace it by something else, and the only thing I know, if that may be within our reach for seeking, is a comfortable and independent way of living. I do not mean that a man should seek or desire to raise himself to opulence. No, I only say a man might be happy and independent without having to overwork himself by mental and bod[i]ly labour” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 August 1865). A “comfortable and independent way of living” is therefore the indication of social success for this and other letter writers, although there are circumstances in which dependence may be necessary. These circumstances were sometimes associated with gender roles, like in the case of “Cathy Cormack [who] has been more than fortunate in obtaining one of the best situations in town, where many young women for some years in the country are

many months during the year out of situation owing to their having to leave them. She is very comfortable, has 200 \$ per month, a good room to herself, her choice of having a good companion, and so well liked by her Mrs (who is gone to England), that she has already received a present from her. She is looking very well and gets good health” (William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 July 1862). Domestic service in the homes of wealthy families in Latin America – often British and Irish – was the most frequent way for Irish young women to achieve their own “comfort”. In the case of women the concept of economic independence was not seen as a key element for success. Hence, the value of prosperity was nuanced according to gender.

Personal effort to attain the economic goals is measured in terms of future gains. William Murphy acknowledged that he was “working away employing myself as best I can to make the dollars all my exertion will be needed to meet the great demands on me. [...] Having now learnt the way business is chiefly carried on in this country I hope to be able to do things more easier in future” (William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 July 1863). Of course the prerequisite to achieve a higher economic and social status is to work hard; even when the immigrants need “to learn the way” and when “they are only beginning to learn the work of the camp” they need to be “very industrious and willing” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 June 1865). This characteristic is extrapolated to Latin Americans, especially the “richest and most respectable natives [who] can now see how money can be made, and has command to work tooth and nail” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1864). Working “tooth and nail” is a condition to achieve “respectability”, i.e., social pre-eminence through economic success. When discussing the ideal profile of new emigrants, Murphy recommends to “let them not come here to avoid hard work or with the impression of making a fortune in a few years and returning, ([like] John Cullen) but to meet the world as if meets him on with a determination on his part to do his best to advance himself. I think it would not be out of place

in asking intended immigrants what their prospects would be on leaving Ireland. For these come-day go-days contented with a full belly and Sunday for themselves to meet and chat of their neighbours had better remain at home. You can show down Micky Pierce as an example. He has I think sent home upwards of £120 and is in a join way to independence. Also, old Frank Whitty, who can now ride a good horse and go where he please" (William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 23 June 1867).

Moreover, economic achievement as a social value is important to match the qualities of other family members. Margaret Murphy is considering a proposal to marry her neighbour Philip Keating, "indeed very respectable people, and he is himself a man [who] will (I am quite assured) will make a kind and loving husband. And from his industrious and temperate habits, I dare say procure for her a comfortable life, that is providing he has the other means, and wherewith to do so" (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1865). The family is included in the life goal of material success: "his exertions has been unfatigued in promoting the comfort and happiness of his family" (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 August 1865). Sometimes, economic efforts must be made to educate the children so they can also be equipped with tools to achieve social ascendancy. Patrick Murphy and his wife believe that "the time has arrived that we should strain a point and sacrifice a portion of our comfort for the express purpose of making them [the children] fit members of society" (Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 April 1874). Patrick has been a problem to the Murphy family. In various opportunities the eldest brother John commented on Patt's lack of effort. "Brother Patt I hear has bought a place alongside mine at Rojas. This speculation will learn him how to live and how to work for it, as he has up to now being fed with a silver spoon in his mouth. He never since he came to this country has eaten his own bit, and the foulest ingratitude he has recently shown for it. Many of the men has been telling me that his carrying on both now" (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 July 1865). As in other occasions, Patt's wife is blamed and

made responsible of his flaws, which have “in a great measure been owing to the Mrs., who comes very high the old saying at home (make a good poor man's wife) as she is sure never to let him get sick” (22 July 1865).

Other values can be analysed in these letters, like gender identity, friendship, ethnicity, faith, health. But economic success provides a fertile field to study how the Irish in Latin America assessed material achievement and its impact in their social context.

Memoirs and Diaries

Memoirs may be described as accounts of the writer's own life with an emphasis on the witnessed events. They are different from autobiographies, in which the author exposes his or her own personality or life, and confessions, the justification of his or her own faults. Benedict Anderson argues that “these narratives [...] are set in homogeneous, empty time. Hence their frame is historical and their setting is sociological. This is why so many autobiographies begin with the circumstances of parents and grandparents, for which the author can have only circumstantial, textual evidence” (Anderson 1983: 204). Furthermore, the reference time in diaries is the present while in memoirs it is the past, and they are written during a precise period of the writer's life. Whether written for fiction or real purposes, both letters and memoirs require a different analysis of their representations. The following memoirs have been studied for this thesis.

Edward Robbins's Memoirs

According to Edward Robbins, his life was a swift journey from his youthful and adult life in Ireland to the settlement in South America in constant search for stability. Edward Robbins (1802-1866) was born in county Offaly (at that time, King's County) in the bosom of a middle-class rural family. Thanks to his industrious habits and to the connections through the

family, he was appointed to jobs that gave him first-hand knowledge of the welfare administration in the Irish midlands. Together with his work on the family farm, he started enthusiastically a “public life”, and subsequently travelled to Dublin and London. At the same time, his duties made him an eyewitness of the effects of the Great Famine in that region. In 1844, his wife died when they had seven children. He married a widow from Mullingar who owned another farm but the agricultural business became difficult. Problems arose and the family decided to leave Ireland. In 1849 the Robbins arrived in Buenos Aires sailing from Liverpool, but some of them died due to the hazards of the journey. Disappointments followed one another but finally Robbins found a stable job and settled in Cañuelas, near Buenos Aires. Robbins’ memoirs come to an abrupt end in 1853. He died on 5 April 1866, and he was buried in the old cemetery of San Pedro. His memoirs were written during those thirteen years, probably based on notes taken throughout his life. The family transcribed the text and prepared a private edition. The manuscript did not survive.

The Robbins belonged to a mid-to-upper social group of farmers. Edward Robbins lived in a rural and semi-urban environment, and he was able to take advantage of the multiple relations in his social circle. Without neglecting the family farms, he managed to be appointed officer of social welfare and to have access to a relatively high income. But his good luck declined and, little by little, he concluded that it was necessary to emigrate to save the few assets he still owned. When he sold his farms, he had money enough to pay for the passage tickets and medical treatments upon arrival in Argentina. Once in Buenos Aires, he still had £80. Significant differences separate Robbins from most Irish immigrants in Latin America. Robbins arrived in Buenos Aires when he was forty-seven and he travelled with his wife and eleven children. Some members of the family managed to survive; they settled in and assimilated to the local larger society. However, the impression one has after having read his memoirs is that Robbins’s life in Ireland was happier than in Argentina. Judging from the end

of the text in 1853, the reader is not able to deduce the extent to which Robbins perceived his life as an absolute failure. However, his frustrations and fears derived from the experience in a new country are judged negatively compared to his self-perceived happy childhood in Ireland or, as he writes quoting Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, the "seats of my youth when every sport could please."⁷⁷

Tom Garrahan's Memoirs

"My father" wrote Laura MacDonough (née Garrahan) at the closing of these memoirs, "known to everyone as Tom or Don Tomás, being the oldest of the family, wrote this history telling all that he remembered about the Garrahans." Recording the history of his family was the goal of the writer. But in the text there is much more information about the symbolic cultural world in which the family lived. With the excuse of registering the family lore, the real intention was to speak about his own feelings and works. In a plain and unpretentious "camp style", Tom Garrahan recounted his experiences and opened his heart in a sober way.

Thomas George Garrahan was born in 1864 in Argentina, and died in his farm "New Home", near Abbott (Monte) on 16 August 1936. He married Juana Julia O'Loughlin, who died in *La Espadaña* in 1956, and was buried in Lobos cemetery. Tom and Juana had six children. Tom was the eldest son of James Garrahan (1836-1888) of Westmeath, and Margaret Cunningham (1839-1925). His grandfather was Patrick Garrahan (1805-1870), married to Anne Kenny (1811-1883), the founders of the Garrahan family in Argentina, who emigrated from Ireland probably in the early 1840s.

⁷⁷ I am indebted to Julia McNerny of San Pedro, Buenos Aires province, for having sent the transcription of this text and the photographs and related documents. I am also thankful to Estela Oliveros and Ricardo Murray, of the San Pedro Irish Association.

These memoirs were written in the *estancia* New Home, Lobos, in the late 1920s or in the early 30s, and were based on a personal diary that did not survive. They accurately represent the values and attitudes of a typical Irish *estanciero*, first generation born in the country.⁷⁸

John Macnie's Memoirs

In 1899 Dublin-born Captain J. Macnie decided to try his fortune in Argentina. He worked in *estancias* in Entre Ríos and Santa Fe, and learned to drive cattle and other ranch jobs. But what really fascinated him was to hunt, ride horses, and play foot-ball and polo. "If the reader has had a quarter as much pleasure in reading about the Argentine as I have had in writing about it, then I need feel no qualms of conscience" (p. 183). Macnie's *Work and Play in the Argentine* (1925) includes accounts of pioneering horse racing and polo in Venado Tuerto. A translation into Spanish by José Bernardo Wallace was published in Venado Tuerto. I selected Macnie's memoirs to develop a further analysis below.

The Diary of Roberto Murphy

Roberto Murphy (1855-1934) was born in Lobos, Buenos Aires province, the youngest child of Michael Murphy (1807-1864) of county Offaly, and his wife, Elizabeth, *née* Scully (b.c.1830). Michael Murphy arrived in Argentina in 1829 and worked in sheep-farming in north-west Buenos Aires. In Lobos he owned two ranches and 20,000 sheep. His son Roberto Murphy worked in the family *estancias*, and became a well-known public figure in the area. In 1887 he was appointed justice of the peace in Lobos district, and in 1896 was elected to the provincial parliament for the National Party (though his candidature was later withdrawn as a result of election manoeuvring). In 1895 he married Annie Morgan (1857-1898), daughter of George Morgan and Anne Gaynor, of San Andrés de Giles. They had two children. In 1902

⁷⁸ The original manuscript is in the private library of Dr. Patricio J. Garrahan, to whom I am thankful for sharing a photocopy and family photographs.

he married Luisa Cunningham (1856-1926), daughter of Joseph Cunningham and Mary Murphy. Roberto Murphy died on 14 July 1934 in Cambaceres, near Ensenada, and was buried in the Recoleta cemetery of Buenos Aires.

During forty-eight years – from 28 February 1887 up to a few days before his death in 1934 – Roberto Murphy maintained a diary. Daily entries include five to ten hand-written lines recording ranch business, family news, visits, local affairs, travel reports and remarks about the weather, market prices, movements of neighbours, and political upheaval. Cash accounts close every year, and miscellaneous materials like press clippings or notes are occasionally inserted with some entries. Entries are arranged in forty-eight volumes.⁷⁹

Other Memoirs

John Brabazon's *The Customs and Habits of the Country of Buenos Ayres from the year 1845* were unpublished until Eduardo A. Coghlan published a translation in Spanish titled *Andanzas de un Irlandés en el Campo Porteño 1845-1864* (1981). Brabazon was a member of a Protestant family of county Westmeath, and he went to Argentina in 1845 (Coghlan 1987: 53). His memoirs report in a straightforward manner the adventures and misfortunes in the pampas, including the murder of his first wife. Coghlan's translation is illustrated with photos and a facsimile of the original manuscript (only two pages), which remains unpublished in English.

Written in the third person, Barbara Peart's *Tia Barbarita* portray the experience of a Dublin-born young woman who marries a well-off Irish *estanciero* of Entre Ríos, Argentina.

⁷⁹ Murphy used Lett's Diary N° 45, hard covers, 21 x 13 cm, with daily entries presented on weeks in facing pages. The forty-eight volumes are in the private collection of the Murphy family of Buenos Aires, who kindly let me scan and publish them in an online edition of *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (<http://www.irlandeses.org/inicial.html>), cited 24 January 2010.

The book was written in Mexico, where the author and her husband spent most of their lives after living in Argentina nine or ten years, and also the U.S. for a short time.

Sport and Segregation

John Macnie's memoirs deserve further study. This section focuses on the set of values of its author, and his distinctive patterns of behaviour regarding other Irish immigrants in Latin America. Born in Dublin, John Macnie was the typical representative of an urban class of Anglo-Irish ascendancy in Ireland. His impressions of the pampas, recollected in his *Work and Play in the Argentine* (1925), are less the views of a farming emigrant than those of a sporting son of the informal British Empire during an extended staying abroad.

According to Macnie, "for the sportsman in the true sense ... [Argentina] is the best life in the world. It has, of course, its drawbacks, and a man may be leagues away from a neighbour and hundreds of leagues from another Englishman". He claims that for a young British or Irish man, a working stage in the pampas was the ideal arena to learn the manly duties of hard working and sociable entertainment that would be later much useful at "home", i.e., in the British Isles.

Macnie's attitudes were shaped by the social school of British imperial values, including the imposition of rules inspired by religious faith, self-perception of superiority towards other ethnic groups, a patronizing relation with others, camaraderie among men, and a spirit of adventure and athletic performance influenced by "muscular Christianity". Born into a well-off Anglican family, John Macnie studied in Dublin, Hanover and at Trinity College Dublin. In 1899 he went to Argentina to learn agricultural management.

Macnie's memories of his Argentine period are depicted in the blend of "work and play", with an emphasis in rural administration, but also in hunting, horse-racing, and polo playing.

It is the world view of an Anglo-Irish ethic, anxious to assert an individualistic and masculine posture in a period when the predominance of that class was challenged at home. In this section I analyze key passages of the book in the context of the Irish nationalistic stance in Argentina in the same period.

John Macnie was born in 1872 in Dublin, the “best of cities dear” (Macnie 1925: 5), the son of a printer with Anglican background. He received his initial education at John L. Burke’s Bective College, a school referred to by W. M. Thackeray in his *Irish Sketch Book* as one in which there were more prizes given than there were pupils. In 1886 Macnie was sent to Hanover for two years to a school run by Dr Wulfes. After that he returned to Dublin to work with his father’s printing and publishing establishment. In 1890, Macnie entered Trinity College Dublin, and studied under the tutelage of Rev. Gilbert Mahaffy with the idea of trying later a commission as officer in the British army, but this plan was interrupted to work in the family business after his “Little go”.⁸⁰ During the following five years, Macnie returned to what he regarded as the tedious routine in his father’s office. However, he managed to balance the boring life in the printing shop with “a good time and lots of sport, sailing on Dublin Bay, hunting occasionally ... and with football, hockey and tennis, and as cheery a crowd of companions as man could wish to meet” (6).

As a young man Macnie was sent to South America, which “had always fascinated me almost as much as the army” (6). He stayed in Argentina for twenty-five years, during which he was employed in many *estancias* and ended by owning land in Santa Fe province through the marriage to an Anglo-Argentine woman. He returned at least twice to the British Isles, probably on business related to his family.⁸¹ In 1903, during a New Year’s dinner at “La

⁸⁰ Freshman examinations, officially called “Responsons”.

⁸¹ There are two arrivals to Buenos Aires recorded under “Macnie, John”. The first one is on May 11, 1926 in the *Deseado* (first class) from Liverpool, and the second one on November 23, 1927 in the same ship (CEMLA,

Susana”, Macnie met his future wife Beatrice Davison, a daughter of William Davison of Belgrano, Buenos Aires.⁸² They went to England, married on 12 July 1904 at Trinity Church, Bedford, and “started the happiest days of my life from that date, and I am always sorry for the bachelor who thinks he is having a good time” (50). They had a daughter, Doreen, and other children. Macnie became a landowner of “my wife’s place, which I christened ‘La Beatriz,’ Beatrice being my wife’s first name” (56).

Between 1908 and 1919 the family lived in Bedford, England, and in August 1914 John Macnie took a commission in the 2/1st squadron of the Bedfordshire Yeomanry. Shortly after he joined the Royal Fleet Auxiliary, was sent to Egypt and was in Edmund Allenby’s conquest of Palestine and Syria in 1917-1918. After the war Macnie and his family returned to Argentina in 1919 and went to live at “La Beatriz”, but they moved again and definitively to the British Isles in 1928.⁸³ The book was written in 1924, and published in London the following year. (104)

The first experience recorded by the author about his life in South America occurred the same day of his arrival in Buenos Aires. That evening he met some “cheery souls ... bachelors from the ‘camp’” (7) who came from their *estancias* to the agricultural show of the Rural Society in Buenos Aires.⁸⁴ After dining in a restaurant in a central location, the group went to a music-hall and one of the party “who was extremely hilarious” teased an attendant “who

SILAS database, <http://www.irlandeses.org/>, cited 9 February 2009). Interestingly, in the first arrival he was recorded as English and in the second one as Irish.

⁸² On April 6, 1897 Beatrice Davison’s sister Katherine Rose Davison married to Charles Harding Dyson (San Salvador, Belgrano: parish records, 1895-1902, *British Settlers in Argentina*, website, <http://www.argbrit.org/Belgrano/Belgmarrs1896-1900.htm>). A brother of Katherine and Beatrice Davison, Walton Davison, was the owner of “Las Magnolias”, neighbouring *estancia* to Macnie’s *estancia* “La Beatriz” in San Eduardo, Santa Fe province.

⁸³ I have not been able to find further information about the life of John Macnie and his family in England.

⁸⁴ Since 1886, *La Exposición Rural* is organised every year in Buenos Aires by the Argentine Rural Society. The exhibition is a farming and industrial show, with ranchers coming from all over the country to exhibit their products and livestock. Traditionally, *La Rural* is the most important social gathering of the landed elite as a class.

was a half-breed” (8). The attendant fell under a real-size mock cow that was placed in the place as a decoration. “He lay there howling with rage and fright, all that we could see being his arms and legs waving wildly in the air. We were nearly helpless with laughter, but finally [...] released the attendant, who was given a dollar or two for the amusement he had caused.”

(8) This opening paragraph includes three of the major attitudes held by the narrator in this book: friendship, laughter and ethnic values. Having fun with friends, usually at the expense of other people who are perceived as inferior, seems to be one of his most recurrent amusements. This can be condensed in the second term of the book title, *Work and Play*, while the first one is considered as a duty or an obligation. Most of the book deals with entertainment, “Play.” The ethnic values bore by the narrator are present throughout the book in the form of perceived characteristics associated to different nationalities.

These attitudes are different from the traditionally insular values in the above mentioned Brabazon’s memoirs, and indeed in Kathleen Nevin’s and William Bulfin’s fictional characters studied later in Chapter Six. Irish autobiography portrays the “Islandman”, a character who mirrors the complex oppositions of water-land, exile-return and rejection-acceptance in Ireland and in the Irish Diaspora.⁸⁵ Perhaps to avoid social isolation, John Macnie’s self-portrayal is strongly associated with others, whether of the same or other national origin, and has no evident conflict of exile. This suggests that Macnie’s psychological framework regarding migration, and that of a certain group of Anglo-Irish background – more Diasporic than Hegiran as seen in Chapter Two – might have been related to an imperial ethos which affected the majority of Irish society in a different manner. The assertion of values related to friendly social relations, mainly entertainment and sports seems

⁸⁵ These concepts are analyzed by Werner Huber in his article “‘Pig’s Back’ and ‘Enchanted Isle’: Irish Autobiographers and their I/Is/Ire/land” in *Erfurt Electronic Studies in English* (Göttingen), 1995, website (<http://www.uni-erfurt.de/eestudies/eese/>), cited 21 February 2009. The literary study of islands, in particular the Caribbean and Ireland, is also treated by Maria McGarrity’s *Washed by the Gulf Stream: The Historic and Geographic Relation of Irish and Caribbean Literature* (Newark: Delaware University Press, 2008).

to have been exclusive to a social circle whose frame of mind went beyond the geographical limits of Ireland (and of the British Isles), to reach its members scattered throughout the formal and informal colonies of the British Empire. In this section I analyze some of these aspects in *Work and Play in the Argentine*, with a particular focus on ethnic-oriented values and gendered sports.

The popularization of Charles Darwin's natural selection paradigm among members of a self-perceived progressive class in Britain and Ireland, with the further addition of Mendelian genetics and eugenics,⁸⁶ shaped the ideological context in which several young men in Britain and Ireland were educated to occupy private and public positions throughout the British Empire. Macnie's book was published in the period between the two World Wars, but his formative years occurred in the last third of the nineteenth century, when those ideas were flourishing under the later label of Social Darwinism.

In *Work and Play* there is a vague biological taxonomy displayed, attaching different people to their national origin, and more precisely to their ethnic group. The way Spanish language is spoken by immigrants from different countries is an example, with the Germans who "are the worst, the French next and then the English" (14). Skin colour is always present, like when the indigenous peoples are depicted as "galloping hordes of painted and blood-thirsty redskins" (59), or the founder of Venado Tuerto Eduardo Casey as "a thorough white man" (65). Moral qualities are listed for the "many bad men from Spain and Italy, men who do not hesitate for a moment to use a revolver or draw a knife" (104), the Argentines, depicted as "an excitable and very often anarchistic crowd" (101), or the French, who are judged as keen of drinking in "doch an' dorich" style.⁸⁷ The narrator has a particular despise

⁸⁶ Eugenics, coined by Darwin's cousin Francis Galton, was never approved by Darwin.

⁸⁷ "Doch an dorris" from *deoch and doris*, used in Ireland and Scotland to designate a drink taken at parting or stirrup cup (from Gaelic *deoch an doruis*, drink at the door).

for the Germans, who are assessed in the book as “pathetic” horse riders (145) and foolishly nationalistic:

Johnson was not far wrong when he said that patriotism was the last refuge of the scoundrel.⁸⁸ Perhaps fool might have been a better word, and yet it does not seem to require alteration when one thinks of the Germans. There never has been a more patriotic nation than they are, or should it be said “were”? (113)

It is worth to mention the opposition English-Irish suggested in Macnie’s book. On the one hand, there are characterizations of the Irish as different from, and indirectly inferior to, the English. On the other, references to Ireland reproduce an attitude of negation towards the birth place, which is termed “England” though it is in fact Ireland. The latter view illustrates a geographical transposition that tries to establish a metonymical relation between Ireland and England. When the author writes “in England” or “English” (for example referring to gardens and flowers, 85), most of the times he is thinking on Ireland. This does not seem to be an intentional device but in fact the author conceives Ireland as an attribute of England, establishing between both terms a relation of synecdoche between the part and the whole. In the historical context after the Irish Civil War, many families in the Anglo-Irish social group were in such a great distress that these attitudes may have not been unrelated, and express the psychological trauma and loss of material and social spaces.

Dealing with the most traditional colonial other of the English, that is the Irish, the “Irish Porteños” as they are styled to emphasise the association with the pampas are usually portrayed in derogatory terms.

The Flahertys had a small place adjoining one of the “Susana” paddocks which was stocked with sheep, and running with them were three imported black-faced rams. One day the rams disappeared, and my late brother-in-law, Willie Davison, who was managing the camp, was naturally much upset at the loss of these valuable rams and went all over the countryside looking for them. Nothing could be heard of them, and at the end of a week Davison came to the conclusion that they must be hidden somewhere and decided that it was not

⁸⁸ Cited from James Boswell’s *Life of Johnson, English author, critic, & lexicographer (1709-1784)* (London, 1791). According to Boswell, on the evening of 7 April 1775 Samuel Johnson pronounced this famous statement but did not provide any context about how the remark arose.

improbable that the Flahertys had “borrowed” them. He rode up to their ranch and saw Mrs. Flaherty, who informed him that her husband was out in the camp. “You haven’t seen those rams yet?” inquired Davison. “Deed no, Mr. Willie, we was just talkin’ about them this mornin’ an’ wondering where they cud be.” “You are sure they’re not here then,” insisted Davison. “Oh, Glory be to God,” said the old woman, “do yiz think we wudn’t tell yiz if we’d seed them.” Just at this moment a gust of wind came and one of the shutters of the house was blown open and instantly there came a loud “baaa,” and Davison looking round saw the face of one of the rams peering at him out of the window. The Flahertys had been hospitably entertaining the rams in their dining room, and only the lucky blowing open of the window gave the show away. There were further and vehement protestations on the part of the old lady that the rams must have got into the house “unbeknownst,” but anyhow the rams trotted joyfully back to their paddock and their wives and were not again molested by the Flahertys (76-77).

A social marker in this paragraph sets a difference between the narrator and the Flaherty family. The extension of their rural property, which was “a small place” even compared to one of the paddocks of the “Susana” ranch, suggests a land-associated social distinction with roots in Ireland. The “Susana” had been bought by Macnie’s father-in-law William Davison in 1886. Willie Davison rode up to the Irish family’s “ranch”, which in this case is not a large farm or *estancia*, but the house where they live. The author uses the word “ranch” with the typically Argentine connotation of Spanish *rancho*, suggesting the traditional dwelling of a poor family in the pampas and the social difference with the landowners of large ranches and spacious country houses.

Seemingly, the Flahertys were shepherds who owned or tended a flock of sheep, which is seen by the narrator as second-class agricultural production compared to cattle and, above all, to horses. Irony is present in the reaction to the Irish brogue spoken by Mrs. Flaherty, especially in contrast with Davison supposedly correct English. Furthermore, with an obvious ironic intention, Macnie observes that the Flahertys had “borrowed” the rams and were “hospitably entertaining” them in their dining room. He perceives them as a thief gang, and judges their purportedly low moral qualities. The Flaherty family is taken here as representative of the “Irish-Porteños”, who were the bulk of the Irish settlers in Buenos Aires and Santa Fe, typically Roman Catholic sheep-farmers or shepherds from the Irish Midlands.

Therefore, the narrator depicts this group as different from his own social circle and also as poorer both materially and morally.

However, not all the Irish are portrayed in the same negative way. Some of them are “what in Ireland is called a bit of a lad” (153), perceived as cheerful young men, intelligent and good workers, with plenty of good taste and good sense. For instance Eduardo Casey, founder of Venado Tuerto, “obviously inherited the instinct for good land which seems to be the birthright of most Irishmen” (62). George O’Connell, a manager of Gilmour *estancias* and later owner of *estancia* Derrynane, “deserved reputation for good methods and good stock” (88).⁸⁹ Eugene Moore’s ranch “is seen through groups of pines, cedars and conifers of various kinds ... All this has been created by Moore in some twelve years, for in 1912 there was not a tree on the site of the present house and monte” (86).⁹⁰ Brothers E. P. and J. Goodbody, who have considerably enlarged the house in “Susana” *estancia*, “have taken advantage of the shade and shelter offered by the old established monte to make a delightful garden ... One of the features of the garden is a small pool covered with water lilies brought from Ireland by ‘Eben’ Goodbody and is a delightful spot in a very pleasing garden” (80). There is one aspect shared by all these “bit of a lad”. They are landlords, and therefore are perceived by Macnie as superior to the landless class of Irish.

Opinions of the English are different. Whether landowners or not, in this book the English invariably share positive characteristics. They may drink more than others, or they may be “ingleses locos” (crazy English) (109), as they are styled by a bewildered native milkman

⁸⁹ “Derrynane” may have been named after the birth place of the Irish champion of Catholic Emancipation Daniel O’Connell in county Kerry. George O’Connell was a fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute.

⁹⁰ *Monte*, a small wood, a group of planted trees.

who is the object of one of their frequent practical jokes.⁹¹ But they are judged by the narrator as morally superior because they are English.

On Macnie's view, the local people and the authorities appreciate English behaviour. "The Argentine police are nearly always well disposed towards the English, principally because, although they may go in for the most extensively sized 'bust', there is never any question of drawing knives or revolvers, and if they occasionally smash up some restaurant or bar, they are always willing later to pay for the damage" (108). This was seldom true, as Helen Kelly confirmed in her thesis. Kelly rightly points at the significant criminal records of the British and Irish in Argentina, most notably due to intoxication, but also in more serious criminal categories like murder (Kelly 2007: 251).

The *ingleses's* supposedly upright behaviour is extended to Macnie's consideration to the local women. During a cheerful gathering after a polo tournament, the owner of Hotel de Londres in Venado Tuerto went to the police station to complain about the damages that the English were causing to his property. But the police replied: "That the English are smashing your hotel I haven't the least doubt, but that they are insulting your wife is rubbish" (Macnie 1925: 162).

In Macnie's narrative, subtle analogies with animals are significant to characterize different human ethnic groups in contact within the rural environment. In a similar situation to that described above when Willie Davison's rams were taken by the Flahertys, some animals are hidden in a living room. In this case,

"Johnny" Smythe, who was one of the best polo players who ever lived in the Venado Tuerto district, had five first-class polo ponies. Hearing a revolution had broken out, he was determined to save these ponies at all cost, and he shut them into his dining room. On arrival of the troops, they took all the rest of the horses on the place, but as they did not go

⁹¹ In fact, after the joke the young milkman was left "murmuring something which sounded like 'ingleses locos'" (109), which can be read as an euphemism for an insult in Spanish.

to the house, the polo ponies were not discovered. When the troops left, Smythe went to get out the ponies but found that in pawing round the room to get out, they had shot down the lower bolts of the door, and he eventually had to use an axe to break it open and get them out (115).

The association of the Irish with sheep may be historically supported,⁹² however in this passage the English are connected with horses – in this case first-class polo ponies – hence the rhetorical strategy proposes a simile of opposition between sheep and horses that is highly illustrative of the narrator’s perception of the differences between the Irish and the English. In his mind, cattle and horses are bred by the English and sheep are minded by the Irish; he reckons that sheep disease “is the filthiest and worst thing I know in *estancia* work, and I got a hatred for sheep which remains with me to this day. I never want to see a sheep except in the form of mutton as long as I live” (11). In another passage pumas are respectful of the ostensibly civilized English settlers but despise the Argentines, like the one in “Santa Rosa” belonging to Cecil Eden, “a tremendous brute which he has had for a number of years, and this animal is absolutely tame and quiet with Eden or indeed with almost any Englishman, but should a native approach, it will crouch to spring at once and goes wild with rage” (131).

Not only animals are taken as representations of the different human groups. Plants, trees, and gardens are seen as their natural extension. While most places belonging to Argentine “natives” (the *gauchos*) are neglected and overgrown, “many [British and Irish] *estancias* have gardens which recall the best in England. Roses do extremely well, while all the usual English flowers bloom to perfection in the Argentine climate” (85).

Friends are, as stated above, a constantly desired company for Macnie. But the company of English friends, especially if they are landowners, is an overriding aspiration. When he

⁹² As it was illustrated in previous chapters, an important portion of the Irish immigrants in Argentina and Uruguay went to live in the countryside and many of them worked in sheep-farms as labourers or shepherds. The same pattern was followed by Scottish and Welsh settlers in the pampas and the Chilean and Argentine Patagonia. Among the immigrants from England, a significant segment resided in cities like Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Asunción, working as merchants or employed by British service and utility companies.

worked at the stud farm near Buenos Aires, he “had no English neighbours at Lima, and only spoke English three times during the year and half I was there” (14). Likewise, after his return to Buenos Aires from Entre Ríos, “I had a hectic week which I enjoyed thoroughly after over a year without seeing an Englishman” (18). The sole fact of being “English” is enough to establish relations that may quickly become a friendship and a business opportunity. However, not all English are alike, and class factors are perceived as significant aspects of social life.

In one sense, John Macnie’s social values were more progressive than those of many other Irish-born settlers in Argentina. Landownership (rather than birth) was for him the most concrete distinction among the different class groups, as well as the social possibility to ascend to the landed gentry. “Many of the [ranch] owners went to England to live” (159) and their properties were in charge of resident managers, who represented a powerful group in the countryside. A third group was made up by skilled labourers employed by British companies.

Once or twice in the history of the [Venado Tuerto Polo] Club, the members have raised a football team for some special occasion, and one of these was when challenged by the Railway Institute in 1907 or 1908. Venado Tuerto is one of the engine depots of the F.C.C.A.,⁹³ and consequently a considerable number of engine drivers live in the town. The Institute team was largely composed of engine drivers who fancied themselves a bit as soccer players, but they were up against a pretty useful lot in the Polo Club team, as most of the latter had played in their school elevens and fifteens, and in addition half of them tipped the scale at about ninety kilos and were all in hard condition. The play was fairly rough and falls frequent, and at the end of the game was heard the following remark, made by the wife of one of the engine drivers to her much damaged husband, “Lor’ Charlie, they ’ave given you a doin’ and they calls ’emselves gennelmen. Pretty gennelmen they be!” (170).

Social standing is also present in the other ethnic groups. Horse riding “amongst the peons has deteriorated, and much improved among the leisured classes in the Argentine” (142).⁹⁴ The landowning Irish clans like those of Edward Casey or the Duggan brothers, “one of the

⁹³ Ferrocarril Central Argentino (Central Argentine Railway Co.), which employed thousands of British and Irish workers and executives.

⁹⁴ Peons, from Spanish *peón*, a ranch hand employed in a large *estancia*, usually recruited among local gauchos and from the first decades of the twentieth century among poor European immigrants.

wealthiest families in Argentina” (62), are not considered in the same way as the Flahertys or other shepherd families.

Landed families employers of landless workers were the core of Macnie’s construed social structure. When hierarchy was challenged all the established classes united. In a rural area densely settled by foreigners, Venado Tuerto in the south of Santa Fe province had experienced social turmoil since the early years of the twentieth century. The anarchist-oriented Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (FORA) was established in 1901 and successfully struggled to gain recognition in the labour movement. It was inspired in the pioneering work of the Italian leader Errico Malatesta and other European anarchists who worked in the country in the last decade of the nineteenth century. One of Malatesta’s followers, the Irish physician John Creaghe (1841-1920) contributed to the anarchist movement in Argentina, England, and the United States, and founded the periodicals *La protesta*, *The Sheffield Anarchist*, and *La regeneración*. The labour movement became a significant political force and by 1919 FORA had 20,000 members. That year there were 397 strikes in Buenos Aires involving over 300,000 workers. Known as the *Semana Trágica*, the first weeks of 1919 witnessed bloodshed during the brutal repression by the police and the army, backed by civil agents of nationalist and reactionary movements.

In this context, the “agrarian troubles” in Santa Fe are described by Macnie, when

some owners of threshing machines formed a league to force the farmers to pay higher prices, and no thresher was allowed to work unless the owner joined the league. Elortondo was one of the headquarters of this socialistic blackmailing society, and Rufino was another ... The police having been advised, three policemen with a sub-comisario were sent to look into the matter. They were in a Ford car and armed with Winchesters ... The anarchists opened fire on the car and riddled it with bullets, but by some extraordinary chance, without wounding any of the occupants ... The police jumping out, opened fire on their assailants, killing one man immediately and wounding several others ... The next day every thresher in the district was either at work or was in its way to start threshing at some chacra. This ended all trouble as regards Elortondo. At Rufino the same society of terrorists had also stopped all threshing ... and a raid was made on a hall where the society was holding a meeting ... Similarly as at Elortondo, all the threshers were able to start work the next day (101-103).

There is no consideration in this passage to the reasons why the farmers were forced to pay higher prices to the threshers. Usually, threshing machines were communally owned by extended landless families of Italian and other immigrants who wandered from ranch to ranch at the crop season. These itinerant groups were despised by landowners and their people due to their humble social origins, and were paid unfairly. The narrator has no doubt that the action of a “socialistic blackmailing society” was a threat to the establishment, and supports the repressive action of the police forces. Convinced that violence is the only way to work out the conflict between the landowners and the threshers, he recommended the use of force. With notoriously autocratic statements Macnie concludes that “this is to show how easy is to quell these anarchists and socialists with a little determination” but he regrets that “the sentences meted out as a general rule to offenders of this class are so inadequate that they are practically encouraged to continue in their lawless practices” (103).

In the closing chapter Macnie evaluates the “prospects there are for a lad coming to the Argentine” (174), and reflects on the ideal type of immigrant from the British Isles to the pampas. “A reputation for conscientiousness and working hard” is the first condition, since “life in the Argentine is not all shooting, polo and sport”. However, he recognizes that it is the ideal place for “the sportsman in the true sense, who cares for horses, dogs and living things, who joys in the open air and the wide plains”. One of the most important drawbacks is that “a man may be leagues from ... another Englishman” (175). And “there is no one to hold his hand if he is feeling cheap or *triste*, but he will, if he is a sportsman, have the consolation of knowing that he is leading a man’s life” (176).

Hard-work, sportsmanship, and manliness are the alleged characteristics of the successful immigrants in South America. Macnie’s *Work and Play in the Argentine* represents a standpoint that is seldom associated with the Irish in the region. His family background, the

national identity of the Anglo-Irish class, and the social attitudes regarding landownership are values that strongly inform his behaviour and relations with other social and ethnic groups.

Conclusion

The private documents of the Irish emigrants to Latin America represent a valuable source to understand the symbolic world of their social and cultural values. Personal correspondence includes ideas and attitudes that are difficult to elucidate in public texts like the press or published memoirs. The approach to expose those attitudes is more open and candid, and allows quality examination with a cautious reading to avoid generalisations that would not be statistically valid due to the size and representation of the sample. Two main family collections of letters sent in the nineteenth century from South America to Ireland and Australia have been studied. “Home” and “land” are some the most important signifiers including in these collections, which suggests the importance of this immigrant group’s attachment to their birth places in Ireland and the strong links between land possession, social relationships, and psychological security. The topical organisation of these letters allows identifying conventional structures and themes which are shared by many writers in different locations and periods.

Autobiography has been another important source to elucidating cultural patterns among the Irish-born immigrants in the region. Published and unpublished diaries and memoirs provide historical knowledge, and facilitate the understanding of how cultural transfer has been performed among the immigrants and with the local society. John Macnie’s memoirs are a valuable document to understand the neglected group of Anglo-Irish immigrants in the region, with their specific behaviour towards other Irish-born immigrants, the English, other foreign residents, and Latin Americans.

CHAPTER FIVE NARRATIVES II: THE PRESS

Introduction

*Vendemos los diarios
En esta ciudad
Por calles y plazas,
Boliches y bares.
“La Nación” “La Prensa”,
“Patria” y “Standard”,
Se venden lo mismo
Que si fuera pan.⁹⁵*

The song at the beginning of the second scene of *Canillita* (1908), by the popular Uruguayan playwright Florencio Sánchez, echoes the melodious cries of the boys selling newspapers in the streets of Buenos Aires and Montevideo in the early twentieth-century. The fact that the *Standard*, an English-language newspaper edited by an Irish family in Buenos Aires, was included in this song among the most popular dailies in the early twentieth century suggests its influential role in business and social life in the Río de la Plata region and the relatively important weight of the English-speaking groups in this area. It is also an indication of the contribution of some Irish editors and entrepreneurs to the press in the region. The *Standard* and the *Southern Cross* of Buenos Aires, the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of Rio de Janeiro, among other newspapers founded, edited, and managed by the Irish, not only had a strong impact in the life of the English-speaking communities in Latin America but also provided the major flows of information in the international relations of the region with Europe and North America.

⁹⁵ We sell the newspapers / in this city / about the streets and the parks / saloons and bars / “La Nación”, “La Prensa” / “Patria” and “Standard” / are sold / like hot cakes (my translation). Florencio Sánchez, *Canillita* (1908), Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Available online (<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com>), accessed 14 August 2009.

Chapter Five includes a description of the major papers founded by Irish people in Latin America and establishes their ideological position regarding political, religious, and national issues in the region and in Ireland during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Ethnic, Commercial or Local?

As a consequence of the multiple national identities of the Irish in Latin America, their publishing enterprises may be classified as Irish, Irish-owned, or local. The Irish ethnic papers had a focus on Irish identity, with news predominantly from Ireland and other communities of the Irish Diaspora, information about Irish language, music, literature, and social or political news limited to community members (sometimes with a religious focal point). The *Southern Cross*, *Fianna*, and the *Hibernian-Argentine Review* are examples of Irish media. These media were important in their period to bring together different circles of the community around shared values.

Irish commercial media were more ambitious in circulation, aiming not only at the Irish but also at any English-speaking person in the region. They focused less in social or political subjects than in business and settlement news, and appealed to British (English, Scottish, Welsh), Irish, and North American residents. The *Standard* and the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* can be included in this category, together with dozens of other English-language Latin American newspapers and periodicals owned or edited by other people.

In the third category, the contribution of Irish immigrants to the local papers was sporadic. The first and following generations born in the region were more active in the press than the immigrants. Employed as translators, editors or publishers, a number of Irish-Latin American professionals were among the staff of foremost newspapers in the region. Stephen Hallet, an Irish-born printer who went first to North America and in the 1820s was living in Buenos

Aires launched *La Gaceta Mercantil* (1823-1852), which became a loyal supporter of Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas. James Kiernan (1806-1857) of Derry, who arrived from Canada in 1824, assisted Halley and later became editor and owner of *La Gaceta Mercantil*. Kiernan and his brother John Bernard Kiernan (1815-1886) married family members of Rosas's wife Encarnación Ezcurra. Their father the merchant, mathematician, and astronomer Bernard Kiernan (1780-1863) has been working in New Brunswick as surveyor and in Buenos Aires published a series of popular almanacs.

The following letter by Bernard Kiernan, published in *La Gaceta*, illustrates the relations of the prosperous Irish merchants in the Río de la Plata, as well as their own self-perceived position in relation to “the less instructed of the people”:

It came to my notice sometime since that the prediction in my almanac of an extraordinary rise in the river on the days 23, 24 and 25 of the present month has had the effect of inspiring fears of a great inundation amongst certain of the credulous and less instructed of the people. I did not, however, feel it incumbent upon me to dispel such extravagant ideas, which could in no manner be justified from the plain and unequivocal terms in which my announcement was made. But now that Senor Masotte has commenced this task I must declare that the principles which he sets out in the “Lucero” of to-day are the same as those on which I started in my calculations, and which, consequently, make his deductions correct. There is, therefore, no reason to fear any prejudicial consequences from the causes which combine to produce a tide somewhat higher than the ordinary in the days mentioned, unless wind conspires against us (22 March 1830, cited in Murray 1919: 86).

Irish papers in Latin America held opposing views regarding the role of the Irish within the English-speaking communities. They also differed in the religious aspects of their editorial lines. However, they shared similar social and economic perspectives. Those founded in the post-colonial period strongly supported international trade, with an emphasis on the British Isles and North America. Papers edited in the institutionalisation period and up to the World War I advocated foreign investment, immigration, and the formation of capital enterprises to

supply transport, communications, and structural infrastructure in Latin America, being the most important liberal values en vogue during that period.

After the interwar period, the Irish papers succumbed to the drastic reduction of relative English-speaking readership and to a rise in local nationalism, while some focused on the Irishness and ethnic values of their audience. In the twentieth century, with the belief that the British and Irish represented a civilization conflicting with what they perceived as backward Latin American peoples, the Irish papers supported traditional, capitalist, and bourgeois ethics and joined the local elites to oppose the upsurge of socialism in the region.

The Standard

The *Standard* (originally, *The Standard and River Plate News*) was founded by Dublin-born Edward Thomas Mulhall. The first issue appeared on 1 May 1861. Mulhall worked as a lawyer in the U.S., but in 1854 he went to Argentina to work in the profitable wool business and then started the paper in Buenos Aires. In the initial period, the publication was funded (at least partially) by the influential landowner and wool and hide exporter Michael Duggan (1827-1888) and other ranchers and merchants.

The first issues of the *Standard* were published weekly in English and French on a single sheet, doubled over to make four pages. The first editorial stated that the paper was launched “not as the emblem of a party or the watchword of rivalry, but as the bond of fellowship between the various members of our Anglo-Celtic race” (1 May 1861). In this way, from the opening issues the *Standard* appealed to all English-speaking groups in the region, carefully avoiding the ethnic divides between *Anglo* and *Celtic* that could be suspected from the Irish origin of the founder. The same editorial reasoned that “we have all come from the British

Isles and English, Irish, Scotch, and American acknowledge one mother tongue”.⁹⁶ At the same time it defined the editorial line as “interesting to all who read our language”. Therefore, the *Standard* developed a bold strategy, aiming at any member of the diverse English-speaking communities in the Río de la Plata region.

By the end of 1861, the *Standard* distribution was increased from weekly to daily and therefore became the first English-language daily published in South America. The French-language section was discontinued owing most likely to the fragmentary character of the French-speaking community in the region and to the problems of editing a bilingual foreign-language daily newspaper. The paper was published in three editions, the daily for Buenos Aires and Montevideo, the weekly for other provinces and Uruguay and Paraguay, and the fortnightly for London and other British and Irish cities.

The initial circulation was meagre, with 134 subscriptions in the city and 172 in the countryside. But in the second anniversary there were 1,000 subscribers in Argentina and about the same number in Europe and North America. By 1869, the *Standard* claimed a circulation of 3,000, which placed it second after *Tribuna* (5,000 issues). In the early period, the paper received an indirect subsidy from the Argentine government subscribing to several hundred copies that were sent to foreign embassies and representatives. By the end of 1906 the *Standard* daily edition was twelve pages, being more than half occupied by advertising, especially by river boat and Atlantic shipping companies. The size and variety of advertisers would suggest that “the readership it attracted was not only predominantly urban but also of a certain socio-economic class. ‘English draperies’ and beauty products such as perfumery and

⁹⁶ Interestingly, the Welsh colonists established in Patagonia were not included among the primary readers of the *Standard*. Even if the majority of them were Welsh- and English-speakers, the most likely reason for their exclusion was that they were viewed by the British and Irish of Buenos Aires as religious fanatics who wished to establish a separate state in a far-away land.

soap ‘Old Bond Street London’ for female readership, accompanied European travel and investment opportunities” (8 February 1870, cited in Kelly 2007: 221).

There were less than two columns of cable news, “but public appreciation was fully demonstrated by the numerous columns devoted to correspondence, the subjects chosen being, as at present, varied in extreme” (“*The Standard*” *Diamond Jubilee, May 1st 1920*: 23). The following year the first rotary press in Argentina was installed by the *Standard*.

From 16 April 1862 onwards, Cicero’s line *Nil falsi audeam, nil veri non audeam dicere* (“whilst we do not want to hear what is false we shall never deliberately assert what is not true”) was added to the editorial page of the *Standard* (15). The Spanish-language press in Buenos Aires and the major London papers quoted from the *Standard* referring to it as a faithful authority on every subject relating to Buenos Aires and interesting to the English people.

In 1862 Edward’s brother Michael George Mulhall joined the *Standard* and became its co-editor. The brothers disposed of their farming interests and became active in political and social life in Buenos Aires. A younger brother, Francis (Frank) Healy Mulhall (1845-1898) joined the paper at a later stage.⁹⁷ Even if they were Irish, the Mulhall family referred to themselves as English, and they led the interests of the British (and German and other foreigner) community in the region. They supported Home Rule for Ireland as a member state

⁹⁷ A series of books accompanied the success of the *Standard*, particularly the *Handbook of the River Plate* (six editions 1863-1892) and the *Handbook of Brazil* (1877). On 10 June 1868 Michael George Mulhall married Marion, née McMurrough Murphy (d.1922). Marion published *From Europe to Paraguay and Matto-Grosso* (1877), among other books. In 1878 Michael G. Mulhall returned to Ireland and published several statistical compilations, *Progress of the World* (1880), *Balance Sheet of the World, 1870-1880* (1881), the well-known *Dictionary of Statistics* (1883), and *History of Prices since 1850* (1885). In 1896 he travelled extensively in Europe collecting material for the committee of the English parliament reporting on a proposed department of agriculture for Ireland. He was awarded by the Pope in recognition of his literary work. Michael G. Mulhall died on 12 December 1900 in Dublin, and his wife Marion died on 15 November 1922 in Kent. Edward Mulhall married into an Anglican family, the Eborall of Lichfield, Staffordshire, and built an important fortune. A complete collection of the *Standard* is held at the Max Von Buch Library of Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires.

of the United Kingdom, and they were later criticized for this reason by Irish nationalist groups. Michael Mulhall was not, according to Thomas Murray,

what we would call to-day a good nationalist, but in this time he was quite a respectable one. He was a true O'Connellite and, therefore, deeply loyal to "our gracious Queen", as he used to write. We would call him a shoneen now [...]. Their paper never got sufficient support from the Irish-Argentine people to keep it alive. [...] Dependent on their own efforts, loyalists at heart, and ambitious to get on, they tended daily more and more to the side that gave them most support, till finally their paper came to be the recognized organ of the English community in Buenos Aires. [...] To derive Argentine names from Irish family names was another form of humor (?) they found great pleasure in indulging in. Thus Nuñez was Nooney, Aguirre Maguire, Bareto O'Barret, and so on, although I doubt if even their English admirers could discover much to enjoy in this peculiar order of wit or humor. [...] None of the [Mulhall] family, except Michael, seemed to be possessed by any real Irish spirit, and I doubt, even if they tried, if they could write a newspaper that would appeal to any of their countrymen save those of the snobbish element (Murray 1919, 301-308).

An unsympathetic remark published by William Bulfin in reference to Edward Mulhall's obituary stated that the founder of the *Standard* was "not by any means a man of altruism. He lacked high ideas. No great moral purpose is anywhere observable in his writings. The Irish community looked upon [Mulhall] as the mouth-piece of English commercial enterprise and interests; and never for one moment as an Irish resident or an Irish journalist especially devoting himself to the maintenance of a single Irish principle, religious, political or social" (*Southern Cross*, 21 April 1899, cited in Kelly 2007: 237). The tone of the above passage illustrates the ideological gap opened between the *Standard* and its offspring, the *Southern Cross*, by the turn of the century.

The *Standard* editorial contents included political, economic, cultural, and social affairs, dedicating space to community relations and foreign news coverage. "Articles focusing on public works projects, schools, commerce, taxation and gossip were at once patronising and

enthusiastically supportive of Argentina, the latter due to the immense resources of the country” (Marshall 1996: 16). Local church news was prominent, as well as social events and sports meetings. Sometimes the editorial line was criticised by local politicians, like English-oriented Domingo F. Sarmiento who thought that “the Standard is too Irish and Argentine to be English” (*Condición del extranjero*, 223).⁹⁸

According to an editorial in the special issue of 1920, from the beginnings the editor brothers were aware of the acute capital needs of the South American republics to overcome their lack of economic infrastructure. “Here as at home [Britain] its indefatigable founders were busy inculcating knowledge of the country, advocating its claims to the attention of the magnates. Capital was needed to develop Argentina’s enormous resources: why should not London invest, thus helping to open up what was bound to become one of the great granaries of the world?” (“*The Standard*” *Diamond Jubilee, May 1st 1920*: 13). Speaking about the fifty years of the *Standard*, the editorialist added that

the Argentine people are not entirely faultless, we do not know of any people who are, but we do know that they are generous and sympathetic. They recognise that the “Viejo Estandarte”, though inclined to growl at times, is now as always a sincere and useful friend. In its upright, downright, British way it may indicate an evil, condemn it heartily, but its purpose is always constructive. We have been a constructive institution always, and the policy which has endeared us to the people of this country, to the generations that have gone will, we trust, serve for the future. We mean that it shall [...] The Italian and the Spaniard are interested in news which leaves the Briton cold. But still the principle of journalism is: give the news! [...] Outside the British Empire and the States we think no better daily in the language exists, or has existed (15).

Replying to *La Nación* newspaper, which accused the *Standard* of exaggerating the situation in 1865, an editorial declared: “We are but the voice of the great foreign population. We have laboured for the realisation of useful ideas, many of them which are now facts. [...]”

⁹⁸ El *Standard* es demasiado irlandés y argentino para ser inglés (my translation).

We do not receive a paper dollar from Argentines nor from their Government, but the editors of this paper possess more capital in Argentine enterprises than all the other editors of the River Plate collectively. We have distributed cotton seeds gratis in Corrientes, and we have expended £300 on the *Handbook* in order to make Argentina known in Europe, and General Mitre (the President) [and editor of *La Nación*] who promised to subscribe for copies forgot to do so” (17).

In a comparable line to the present-day editorial policy of several media in Latin America, sensationalist local news stories with murders and attacks by indigenous people were favourite subjects. These stories were usually judged as exaggerated by the readers, but they were supported so as to press on the government to enforce the law against criminals. Even Thomas Murray recognised that the Mulhall brothers “did very great service in exposing and denouncing outrages committed against settlers, especially against their own compatriots, and they never hesitated to denounce in the boldest terms the neglect or partiality of the authorities in bringing evil-doers to justice. [...] How hard and constant a fight they made on behalf of the law-abiding and industrious settlers and with what success, can best be understand by a perusal of the volumes of their paper for those years” (Murray 1919: 302).

Then and now, as Mo Hume rightly pointed out in a recent book about violence in El Salvador, there have been moral and social attitudes hidden in the discourse of security. The ftalk of crime among members of the governing elites and, by reflect, in the immigrant middle classes “have pushed societies to extreme polarities. Such ‘talk’ invokes a moral discourse that creates illusory distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ citizens. [...] Many ‘good’ citizens respond to fear by demanding greater security and hard-line policies. [...] This usually means targeting or criminalising certain groups within society such as youth or the poor in displays of ‘punitive populism’” (Hume 2009: 8). The usual “bad” citizens targeted by this discourse

in the *Standard* were the indigenous people and *gauchos*, who were thus portrayed as not belonging to the society and justifying their extermination.

Contemporary readers of the *Standard* reacted differently to the news about criminal acts and accommodated their opinions of the paper. John Murphy of Salto considered that “our invincible “Standard” [...] gives a full and true account of everything most interesting to foreigners in this country and their friends in the old land” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 July 1862). But he also warned that “the news of late by the Standard (as to the most of murders, &c.) has alarmed the people at home, but his statements are exaggerated and absurd, as he publish every thing he is told, not taking into consideration the character of his informants, which are generally people of no calling whatever, unless that of telling lies after making them. However he does no harm, but rather good as he is continually pitching in to the Ministry on this head, and we let him go on hammering away at them, as he may in the long run effect some reform in many of their laws” (20 July 1864). Later that year Murphy insisted that the news about crimes and murders in the *Standard* were inflated, and that “the account that Mulhall give of the murders and robberies about Bs. As. is very much exaggerated as if he was seeking to frighten the government or the people into some extraordinary changes” (22 December 1864).

The *Standard* provided valuable services to its subscribers living in the countryside, like the poste restante in its office: “There are some changes made here lately in the post office regulation, so it may be safer to direct your letters as heretofore to the Standard office, as follows: c/o Standard Office, 74 Belgrano. For me Uncalito, Salto” (26 October 1864). The newspaper was the main source of information regarding transport to and from the British Isles. “Dear Brother, I see by the Standard of 15th August that the Zingara arrived in Liverpool on the 7th June, and I hope you had an account of her in due time” (22 August

1866). Other readers were more critical of the *Standard*. Sally Moore lamented that she could not “send you some better papers than the *Standard* but I suppose as Spanish is not spoken there [Australia] it is useless to send them, we have several good ones in that language” (Sally Moore to John J. Pettit, January 1865).

After the Mulhall brothers retired, the *Standard* was edited by Edward descendants.⁹⁹ During the interwar period, the *Buenos Aires Herald* appealed to the same target of the *Standard* and certainly won the circulation battle. By 1940 the *Herald*’s circulation tripled that of the *Standard*, which ceased publication in 1959, almost a century after its inception, as a result of financial problems, family feuds, and political unrest.

The Anglo-Brazilian Times

The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* started by William Scully in 1865 in Rio de Janeiro. The first issue appeared on 7 February 1865. It was published every two weeks up to 1874 and weekly up to 24 September 1884.

William Scully, a businessman with various interests, was born in Buolick, county Tipperary, into a family of minor Catholic landlords. The family hit hard times during the Irish Famine of 1846-1849 and William arrived in Brazil in the early 1860s. In Rio de Janeiro he made his living as a teacher of calligraphy, and sold what must have been expensive calligraphic pens (*Laemmert Almanac* 1862, p. 22).

Scully married into an English family in Rio and worked as a shipping agent for British lines. In 1872 he was the agent for the National Bolivian Navigation Company, which held a majority share in the Madeira-Mamoré Railway Company.

⁹⁹ His son Eduardo Tomás Mulhall (1867-1923) was in charge of the *Standard* and also founded the Spanish-language daily *La Argentina*. He was the first to introduce the Linotype and coloured rotary presses in Argentina.

The *Times*'s masthead described itself as a "Political, Literary, and Commercial" newspaper. Among its goals were

to develop and foster British enterprises; to make known events and laws affecting the interests of British subjects; to remove misconceptions and prejudices; to point out, and seek remedies for grievances and defects in the commercial and political intercourse of England and Brazil; to promote a good understanding between the two countries and a better knowledge of each other; and to turn attention to the immense field which is afforded England for the employment of a part of her abounding wealth and energy, and of the skills acquired by so many years of pre-eminence in the constructive and creative arts, to their mutual benefits and to a more perfect interlacing of the ties which should bind together these two free constitutional monarchies (7 February 1865, cited in Marshall 1996: 20).

The editor argued that Irish immigration in Brazil was a viable way to upgrade the economic productivity of the country, especially in the context of slave trade abolition. Brazil was the last state in the western hemisphere to abolish slavery in 1888. Under British pressure the trade was limited since the 1850s and in 1871 the slave children were freed.¹⁰⁰

Immigration was supposed to compensate the need of labour provoked by abolition, and Scully wished to take a part in this profitable business. As immigration and shipping were complementary and beneficial to his interests, Scully advertised Irish immigration in Brazil and at the same time promoted it in Great Britain.

The *Times* contained general Brazilian news and political comment, commercial reports, market prices, and maritime and immigration news. Although the paper received a subsidy from the Brazilian government, it was capable of criticism of the establishment. When the local aristocracy (of which Scully was disdainful) promoted restrictions on the immigration of Protestants, the editor of the *Times* spoke out in opposition. Scully's newspaper was also critical of the British Consul, claiming that he failed to assist destitute British subjects in

¹⁰⁰ Half a million Africans were enslaved, shipped, and landed in Brazil in 1830-1850. Even larger numbers have been imported in the preceding thirty years.

Brazil. However, the Legation believed that Scully had influence with the Emperor and noted that Brazilian newspapers reprinted articles from the *Times*, believing it to be free of political bias. Foreign papers, including the influential London monthly *Brazil and River Plate Mail*, reproduced articles from the *Times*.

William Scully was the founder of the International Society for Immigration, which represented his material support to the Brazilian government. The first meeting was held in February 1866, and Scully strongly recommended that the society be independent of the government. The society was active for the next two years.

Although Great Britain forced Brazil to reduce their enslaved labour force, the Brazilian economy depended heavily on slaves. Arrangements were made for the slaves employed in the north-eastern provinces to be transferred to the burgeoning coffee production zones, especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Plans for an increase in the employment of European immigrants began to multiply. The underlying principle was that

Should Europe pour in here [Brazil] her superabundant population, where employment could be given to 20,000,000 of them, then the Government of Brazil can emancipate the slaves without ruining the production of the country and with some prospect of providing for the future of the freedmen (*The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 23 January 1867, cited in Araujo Neto 2006: 125).

The editorial pointed specifically at one European emigrant, “the Irishman, perhaps justly accused of unthriftiness and insubordination at home, for he is hopeless there and has the tradition of a bitter oppression to make him feel discontented, becomes active, industrious, and energetic when abroad; intelligent he always is. He soon rids himself of his peculiarities and prejudices, and assimilates himself so rapidly with the progressive people around him that his children no longer can be distinguished from the American of centuries of descent” (115). The editorial went further to say that Brazilians should remember that “with the European

immigrant comes progress, wealth, and empire; that he brings with him skill, knowledge, enterprise, and advanced ideas, and has full right to demand, as a condition of his advent, equal consideration with the children of the soil he attaches his fortunes unto” (121). Within this logic, the positive ethnicity value assigned to the Irish works favourably to Scully’s plans of immigration in Brazil.

In a similar stance than that of the *Standard* regarding law enforcement and rising criminal activity and (in the case of Brazil) potential slave rebellion, the editorial asked the reader:

Do the Brazilians not see that their whole prosperity is in danger; that it now depends solely upon the retention in servitude of some three millions and a half of negro population; [...] that no reliance can be placed upon the uneducated slave when once he is relieved from the stimulus of compulsion [...] that their lines of railways and river navigation, though largely subsidized by the national treasury, are commercial failures from the absence of population along their courses [...] and do they not see [...] the danger of a second Hayti looming in the future, facile amidst the mountains, forests, and unnavigable rivers of this vast and fertile, but almost roadless region? (121).

The *Times* was therefore preparing the welcome of European (especially Irish) immigrants in big numbers. “Let the Brazilian government and the Brazilian people extend a welcoming invitation to foreign immigrants. Let them be afforded every possible facility of settlement, and be relieved from the disabilities and irritating surveillance that disgust them and prevent development” (122). However, Irish immigration was in Scully’s words “nipped in the bud” and was never successful in Brazil. The episode that marked its failure was the collapse of the Irish colony Príncipe Dom Pedro in Santa Catarina, which was suddenly deprived of funds and support between 1868 and 1869.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Cf. Marshall, 2005 which is the best account of this and other Brazilian colonies formed by English-speaking immigrants.

In another editorial, titled “Education” (8 April 1865), Scully described negatively the professional skills of the Brazilian elites, who

through indolence and pride abandoned to the more utilitarian foreigner engineering, mining, trades, commerce, and manufactures, and leave the resources and the riches of their wonderful country undeveloped until the educated science of some enterprising foreigner finds out the treasure and turns it to his own advantage. [...] Again we repeat that mind and body react upon each other and enervate together, and we warn our Brazilian youth that, if they suffer to degenerate and become emasculated through their indolence and contempt for usefulness, they will ‘ere long endure the mortification of being ousted even out of their present stronghold of the public service, by those other classes whose pursuits they affect so much to scorn, when once the energies that win for these their wealth be directed to the loaves and fishes of the government employ (124).

When the British minister William D. Christie published in London his *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London & Cambridge: Macmillan, 1865), Scully had to placate most Brazilian leaders (the Emperor in particular) by strongly criticising the way in which Christie expressed his views on the issue of slavery. Scully considered it his mission to attempt to mend the badly damaged relationship between England and Brazil, to the point of verging on a pro-slavery stance, so as to dismiss the charges made public by Christie and thereby appease the Brazilian political establishment.

William Scully also published *Brazil: Its Provinces and Chief Cities; the Manners and Customs of the People; Agricultural, Commercial and other Statistics, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro 1865; other editions in London, 1866 and 1868), a handbook for prospect investors and immigrants in Brazil, and the popular *A New Map of Brazil* in 1866 (drawn and engraved by George Philip & Son, Liverpool and London). The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* was published until September 1884. William Scully died in Pau, France on 14 February 1885.

The Southern Cross

The *Southern Cross* best epitomises the ethnic-centred paper aimed at an immigrant group sharing religious and social values. Published to this date in Buenos Aires as a monthly periodical, the *Southern Cross* was founded in 1875 by Patrick Joseph Dillon. A Roman Catholic priest born in Tuam, county Galway, Dillon went to Argentina in 1863 to serve as Irish chaplain in Merlo and Cañuelas. One of his numerous critics observed that Dillon was “much more popular with the rich than with the poor among his countrymen, and at that time [1877] there was a very considerable number of the two classes of our people in the Capital. [...] The Canon did not measure up to the type of priest to whom the term *Sagairt aruin* ¹⁰² is sincerely applied by the Irish. He was too much in politics for a city Chaplain” (Murray 1919: 397).

In November 1874, Fr. Dillon distributed a brochure announcing the launching of the *Southern Cross* the following year, and explaining the paper’s mission to represent Irish Catholic interests and to

supply the want of an Irish and Catholic organ in the country “The Southern Cross” will appear on the 1st of January. I hope the paper will be found on the table of every Irish and English house in the Argentine Confederation. I have already experienced the love you bear to your Religion and the Land of your Fathers, and, consequently, count upon you for your support. The tone will not adhere to any particular party in this country. The events of the week will be narrated with those comments which proceed from a strictly impartial pen. The paper will contain general Irish, English and North American news, and the Catholic news of the world, as well as the news of the country in which we live in. To be enabled to do this, I have already appointed correspondents in Dublin, Rome and New York (cited in Marshall 1996: 13).

¹⁰² *Sagairt aruin* (Irish), beloved priest.

The *Southern Cross* was instrumental in the creation of an Irish identity in Argentina and South America, and in structuring the Irish-Argentine community. Even if the *Standard* editors were Irish, the *Standard* was British-oriented and perceived the Irish and other social groups as members of the larger English community. By positioning the *Southern Cross* as a Catholic and Irish media, Fr. Dillon contributed to the formation of a separate identity among the larger English-speaking population.

However, under Fr. Dillon's editorship the *Southern Cross* was not against the English and its focus was more on religion than ethnicity. It was a complement to the *Standard* rather than its competitor. The first issues were produced in the *Standard* press and Francis H. Mulhall became the *Southern Cross* editor and manager. The Mulhall brothers helped both technically and financially during the first years of the paper.

Shortly after the failure of the "Dresden Affair" Fr. Dillon went back to Ireland and died in Dublin on 11 June 1889. He was succeeded in the *Southern Cross* by professional writers and excellent editors.¹⁰³ They positioned the paper not only as one of the visible institutions of the Irish-Argentine community but also as a source of information about social and religious events, politics and economy in Ireland, Argentina and other countries, immigration policy, farming and trade. Michael Dinneen of Cork (1839-1896), who has been appointed deputy editor in 1882, took over the paper after Fr. Dillon. "Dinneen had been some time previously a professor in the University of Chile and was about to open a college in San Pedro when the editorship of the paper was offered to him. He was a highly educated man, a decidedly able writer, and he is said to have translated some of the Classics to Gaelic. It was under his control that the *Southern Cross* first began to show anything like sturdy Irish national spirit" (Murray 1919: 446). He was succeeded by William Bulfin, who strongly contributed to the

¹⁰³ Among them, Edward Young Haslam (1808-1878), graduated in the University of Heidelberg, who was one of Jorge Luis Borges's great-grandparents.

creation of an Irish-Argentine identity through the paper. Bulfin became editor and co-owner with Michael Dinneen. Gerald Foley (1868-1927), also from county Offaly, was appointed the following editor and directed the paper during the difficult periods of the World War I and the Irish War of Independence, when different factions existed among the Irish in the region according to their loyalties and inclinations to the British or to the Irish nationalist cause. He was succeeded by his brother Frank Foley (1868-1934).

The management and editorial policy of the *Southern Cross* were performed privately and independently from the Catholic hierarchy. Some of their owners and editors, like the founder Patrick J. Dillon or Lorenzo Eduardo MacDonnell during Gerald Foley's editorship, were members of the regular clergy. However, they developed this activity as a private undertaking and not in behalf of the church. In 1918 a group of Irish-Argentine priests and lay people acquired the shares of the paper from William Bulfin's state, and in 1929 they appointed Fr. Miguel Quinn as editor. Ten years later Fr. Quinn was succeeded by Fr. Juan Santos Gaynor of the Pallotines (Society of Apostolic Life), a Catholic religious order with an important Irish branch in Thurles, county Tipperary.

From that time onwards, members of the Pallotines and later of the Passionists (an order founded by St. Paul of the Cross) have been sitting on the board of the *Southern Cross* together with lay members of the Irish-Argentine community, and give the paper a clearly religious character. Other editors of the paper have been Santiago Ussher, Oscar Hynes, the schoolmaster John Scanlan, and Fr. Federico Richards. Richards, a Passionist father, edited the *Southern Cross* from 1968 and during the dangerous period of political turmoil and military regime 1974-1983. In this period the paper developed a sound line condemning human rights abuses. On 4 July 1976 three Pallotine priests and two seminarists were murdered by a military task force and, differently from the mayor media, the *Southern Cross*

offered a detailed coverage. Furthermore, Fr. Richards included interviews with prominent liberation theologians such as Dom Helder Camera of Brazil. Although threatened, “the paper escaped closure due to its limited circulation and the real or (more likely) imagined protection of the Catholic Church and the Irish and U.S. embassies” (Marshall 1996: 14).

The progressive stance held by the paper during the 1970s and 80s alienated the extremely conservative Irish-Argentine readership. The last decades of the twentieth century and the present period were characterised by lost of circulation, recurring financial problems, and decreasing quality both in editorial contents and production.

In late 2001, economic turmoil, unemployment, and the acute social crisis dampened the Christmas spirit in Argentina and many took to the streets engaging in popular protests known as *cacerolazos* (banging cooking pots). The *Southern Cross* readers experienced the insecurity and lack of confidence of millions in the urban middle classes. Some issues were reduced to a few pages in black and white, and reflected the peculiar state of fear and uncertainty among readership. The paper received dozens of requests for information about immigration in Ireland, especially from and on behalf of young people. The shared belief was that descending from Irish-born grandparents or great-grandparents would be a facilitator to ease in some way the formalities to live in Ireland (as it was true for thousands of Argentines in Italy, Spain, and Israel). Messages to the associated website *irlandeses.com* included direct enquiries about Irish citizenship. “Would you tell me if someone helps with the [Irish] citizenship paperwork? Thank you” (Tue, 19 Feb 2002 19:02:23), or “I’d like to know if we can have the double citizenship, and what are the requirements” (Wed, 13 Feb 2002 15:39:53). Some of the messages appealed to the readers’ religious faith, in a paradoxical hope that God would save the country from the evil consequences of the economic and social situation, and that the Irish Argentines could leave the country: “Dear Leprechaun, Let’s work on the citizenship for the

third generation, as did the Italians and the Spaniards. Our children and grandchildren will be thankful. I am shocked by the situation, but I wish to say that everything will go better for us and our children, grandchildren and our families, and for every Argentine citizen. God bless you!” (Sun, 30 Dec 2001 11:29:11). “I am proud of the blood in my veins [...]. Every day, God blesses me with the presence of other Irish descendants in my family and among friends, oh what a glorious blessing!!!!” (Thu, 8 Nov 2001 17:06:00).¹⁰⁴ These messages were the discussion forum for a 2002 petition signed by about two thousand Irish Argentines and sent to the Irish government to “allow Argentine-born great-grandchildren of Irish nationals to become Irish nationals themselves or in the alternative to be able to seek and obtain employment in Ireland as if they were Irish nationals” (Conor Pope, “A Reversal of Fortune” in *The Irish Times*, 13 November 2002). The petition remains unanswered.

After 2003, with a relatively more stable situation in the country, the *Southern Cross* editorial line hardened. Recent editorials and news stressed an ethno-centric focus in accordance to a revival of Irish culture and identity (inversely proportional to a decline on Argentine identity). The paper returned to traditional principles and a reactionary attitude towards the progressive human rights movements in the period after the military dictatorship.

Fianna

Launched on St. Patrick’s Day 1910, *Fianna* was published during two years. It is one of many Irish publications in Latin America that did not succeed in the long term but had lasting effects in the public.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Original messages in Spanish, my translation.

¹⁰⁵ Other short-lived papers founded by Irish entrepreneurs were Nicholas Lowe’s *Daily News*, the declared organ of Protestantism in Argentina, and Thomas Hutchinson’s *Argentine Citizen* of Rosario.

Intensely anti-British, *Fianna* expressed the views of a radical and small group of Irish republicans in early twentieth century Argentina, with connections in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It was founded by Patrick McManus, a wealthy landowner born in county Donegal whose brother Seamus published the well-known *Story of the Irish Race* (1938).

McManus went to live in North America and spent eight years in the United States navy. Then he settled in Argentina, where he attended college at Mar del Plata. After two years, he was appointed to teach mathematics and English literature. McManus was hired as tutor to the nephews of Buenos Aires provincial governor, who after some years made him administrator of an *estancia* in Pergamino.

McManus developed an international network of Irish nationalists in many countries. He travelled several times to Ireland and in 1897 visited France, where he published articles for *L'Irlande libre*: “Toujours le menes” (*sic*) (October 1898) and “A quoi tient la supériorité Anglo-Saxonne” (New Year 1898). He also organised the centennial of the United Irishmen in Mountcharles, county Donegal. Seven years after the founding of the Gaelic League in Dublin, the first branch was established in Buenos Aires by Patrick McManus, John Curry, and others. In 1907 Patrick McManus married to Elsa, née O'Rourke, a sister of William Bulfin's wife Ann.

Fianna used a fanatical language and referred to Britain as the “Empire of the Devil” while issuing warnings of British plans to seize the south of Patagonia (a story that was echoed by Argentine nationalist journalists and revisionist historians). *Fianna* also attacked the British occupation of the Falkland Islands with the intention to gain support from the Argentines to the Irish cause. “Let us hope that the improbable will yet to come to pass, that juster counsels may prevail, and the captive islands be return to their rightful and natural owner, the Argentine Republic. This would indeed be a more graceful act than the construction of an

absurd clock-tower” (from the first issue, cited in Marshall 1996: 9).¹⁰⁶ The paper was illustrated with pictures of Ireland such as “British authority destroying an Irish peasant’s home with battering ram” (5 January 1912), and presented a quality page design with numerous illustrations. News included articles in English and Spanish, appealing to Argentine readers, as well as a section titled “Spanish for Beginners”. Advertising was extremely limited and the paper was almost entirely funded by McManus. Among the Irish public *Fianna* “brought years of grumblings and discontent of the people” (Murray 1919: 421). One of the most disputed subjects among *Fianna*’s claims were the funds collected among the Irish that were used to build a church for Italian priests, and the sale of the property of the Irish Catholic Orphanage.

Patrick McManus signed his articles with his name in Irish (Padraig MacManus) and various pen names (“Cormac Mac Art” and “Conor Mac Neasa”). He wrote poems like *Hugh of Donegal*, *Evening at Sea*, and *In Fair Donegal*. His paper *Fianna* became well-known in Gaelic circles in Ireland, the United States, and throughout the British Isles. Patrick Pearse’s *An Claidreamh Soluis* claimed that *Fianna* would put others to shame for its content and its 120 pages printed on glossy paper.

Previously to the launching of *Fianna*, the Irish community in Argentina split into two factions, one of them being led by McManus, Fr. Edmund Flannery and Carlos Brady. They seemed “to have been composed of the Irish Republican League and the Irish Catholic Association. [...] Dublin, it seemed, was of little importance to the factions amongst the Buenos Aires Irish” (Kennedy 2000: 59). In 1922 Fr. Flannery and Carlos Brady addressed a letter to Michael Collins and George Gavan Duffy in Dublin, representing McManus group

¹⁰⁶ Known as *Torre Monumental* since the Falklands/Malvinas War, the *Torre de los Ingleses* in downtown Buenos Aires was donated by British residents on the occasion of the Argentine Independence Centennial and was inaugurated on 24 May 1916. The tower was built in Palladian style and decorated with symbols of the British Empire and features the thistle of Scotland, the English rose, the Welsh dragon, and the Irish shamrock.

and writing on Irish Republican League notepaper. The letter “was little more than a thinly disguised attempt by the McManus faction to gain the upper hand in Irish Argentinean domestic politics by appealing to the Dublin government. McManus was credited with maintaining Irish principles in Argentina and resisting the Anglicisation of the Irish colony” (Laurence Ginnell to Gavan Duffy, 3 April 1922).

McManus travelled to Ireland in 1912, 1914 and 1927. In the first trip he bought Rossylongan, two miles west of Donegal Town, and later Wood Lodge in Salthill, near Mountcharles. The McManus brothers were noted for their generosity to many people in the area and the church at home and in Argentina. In 1928 Patrick McManus’ three sons were at college in Paris and their parents came there to spend the Christmas holidays with them. An influenza epidemic was raging at the time, and Patrick and Elsa McManus died within a week, in January 1929.

The confrontational style and raucous editorial line did not get many subscribers among the conservative Irish of the Río de la Plata. Many of them were comfortably employed in, or making business with, British companies and in positions owed to British capital in the country. For this reason, McManus criticized their traditional values, for example regarding young women’s education. “There is a wide demand at present in Buenos Aires for typists, shopgirls, and governesses that can command two languages, and it would be criminal to condemn young girls of our race to the most slavish and worst-paid occupations, like domestic service, who for a few dollars extra for their education could easily be fitted for high positions in life, with easier work, a brighter future and consequently more certainty of finding husbands and becoming mothers of educated and cultured families – families that would be a credit to our race when educated in its traditions; instead of such shoneen families as we now often meet, ashamed of their race, their names and their parents; anxious to be

confounded with Calabreses or Cockneys, rather than point out their descent from the oldest white people in Europe – the Gaels” (31 July 1913, cited in Marshall 1996: 9). This nationalistic stance and the poorly disguised hatred to the British and other ethnic groups could bring just and abrupt end to *Fianna*, which lasted a short but intense and influential period.

Conclusion

Newspapers founded or edited by Irish people in Latin America have been an important cultural agent shaping and representing the values of different English-speaking communities in the region. The *Standard* of Buenos Aires and the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of Rio de Janeiro expressed the pan-British views of their Irish owners, who championed the interests of English, Irish, Scottish, and North American residents in the region. These papers circulated beyond their natural English-speaking readership and supplied a service to local governments and exporters by providing information for prospect businesses and international trade, and encouraging immigration in the region. They were compensated by loyal advertisers, subscriptions to their handbooks and other publishing products, and government subsidies.

Less successful were the papers targeted exclusively at the Irish residents. The *Southern Cross* and the short-lived *Fianna*, among others, were founded to cater for the needs of the Irish in Argentina. The *Southern Cross* appealed to Catholic readers and the later to Irish nationalists, but both were fiercely ethnic-oriented. *Fianna* was very much contingent to republican events in Ireland and for this reason it did not outlive the enthusiasm of its founder, a passionate Irish nationalist with interests in county Donegal and in Argentina. The *Southern Cross* instead, founded by and closely associated with influential Catholic circles,

could adapt to the changing conditions of Irish identities during more than 130 years and it is still being published in Buenos Aires.

Irish papers in Latin America represent a valuable archival source of information about English-speaking people and institutions in the region, as well as a unique perspective to study social and political developments in the post-independence and institutionalisation period.

CHAPTER SIX NARRATIVES III: FICTION

Introduction

This chapter includes the analysis of two texts about the Irish settlers in the pampas of the Río de la Plata region, the novel *You'll Never Go Back* by Kathleen Nevin, and the collection of short stories *Tales of the Pampas* by William Bulfin.¹⁰⁷ I have not been able to locate fictional texts from other Irish communities in Latin America, which is an indication of the weaker cultural production as organised social groups. While in Argentina the Irish developed their own institutions, traditions, and social practises, in other places they rather assimilated to the larger societies or to the Anglo group.

The following texts were published with almost fifty years difference. However, they reflect the values and beliefs of the Irish immigrants in 1880-1900.

Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back* (1947)

A young woman from county Longford, Kate Connolly, emigrates to nineteenth-century Argentina. During her life in the pampas, Kate gradually overcomes her homesickness and procures a family and security in Buenos Aires. *You'll Never Go Back* may be described as the fictionalised memoirs of a female emigrant to nineteenth-century Argentina.

Catherine Smyth, the author's mother, was born in Ballymahon, a traditional area of nineteenth-century emigration to Argentina in the southern townlands of county Longford.

¹⁰⁷ The analysis of these texts have been included in my mémoire de license, *How the Irish Became "Gauchos Ingleses": Diasporic models in Irish-Argentine Literature*, University of Geneva (2003). In the present thesis I focus on identity issues regarding European immigration to that country.

Smyth emigrated in the 1880's, and once in the Río de la Plata she worked first in Buenos Aires and then in a few sheep-farms. She married Tom Nevin, born in 1853 in county Galway, and died in 1928, four years after her husband. They had three children, among them Kathleen Nevin, who wrote *You'll Never Go Back* probably during the first years of the twentieth century, and Maria Winifred Nevin, who finished the novel and published it in 1946 in Boston (Coghlan 1987: 739). In Buenos Aires, the author's parents were close friends of William Bulfin and his wife Annie O'Rourke. The book was reprinted in 1999 by the Longford Westmeath Argentina Society.

You'll Never Go Back contributes a rarely published standpoint, which is that of the female immigrants. Some of the Irish women followed their fathers, brothers, husbands, and boyfriends to South America (travelling with them or in a later period). The majority were unmarried and looking for employment in their new countries. The Argentine census records for 1869 and 1895 confirm that most of the British and Irish women employed in that country were at the bottom of the occupational ladder. In 1869, over a half "were working at unskilled or menial jobs, overwhelmingly as domestic servants, [...] 20.8 per cent as seamstresses or cooks, or made a living by taking in ironing" (Jakubs 1985: 131). From a labour point of view, the Irish "were concentrated at the lower levels, a finding that is confirmed by secondary sources which remark on the number of Irish servants found in Argentine (and Anglo-Argentine) households" (126). Irish servant women were more frequent in Buenos Aires and the urban areas, where their employer families were seldom related to them. In the countryside, women supported the work of the male members in their families or contributed with domestic help to their distant relations. The main character of the novel, Kate Connolly, follows this pattern that will largely influence her life in the pampas and her relationship with Ireland.

The novel begins with the recollections in analepsis form of Granny Kate. In her old age she asks herself in the preface “what my life might have been like if I had stayed at home and never heard of such a place as South America. How did it all come about? Was it laid out for me before I was born? [...] I used to go on telling myself the story, whatever it happened to be. That, indeed, is just what I am doing now” (Nevin 1999 (1946): 7). And she goes on with the memoirs, from her childhood in Ireland up to her marriage with a fellow Irishman and their settlement in Buenos Aires. The novel is full of reflections upon the different culture with which she is confronted in Argentina, and the effect this contrast has on her feelings towards home.

From the opening paragraphs the narrator’s beliefs on class-related boundaries are continuously portrayed. Comparing with her cousin Bessie, whose father “got into difficulties in the forage business and left Bessie without a penny,” Kate Connolly and her family “had a farm and were comfortably off.”¹⁰⁸ The children received a good education. The girls went to the convent “until we put our hair up, and my brother Pat was sent to a good school in Mullingar.” After this she adds that a neighbour landlord, Col. Featherstone, “was supposed to have said that Michael Connolly (my father) had bred his children above their station in life. The Colonel had a very poor opinion of anyone’s station that was outside the nobility and the army.”¹⁰⁹ However, the narrator challenges the Colonel, considering that “the Connollys [are] quite as good as the Featherstones, in their own way” (Nevin 1999 (1946): 9). The class-related opening and the title are key to understand the cultural values portrayed in the book. The subject of social rank will remain important through the whole narrative.

¹⁰⁸ The expression “to have a farm” does not mean to own the farm, but reflects the long-term tenancy contracts between mid-size farmers and their landlords.

¹⁰⁹ Since the seventeenth century the Fetherston family of Longford had been landlords of a large property in Ardagh. George Ralph Fetherston (1865-1923) owned Ardagh House until his death. In 1903 he sold the freehold of their farms to over 300 of his tenants under the Irish Land Act of 1903, but retained the house and the surrounding lands until his death in 1923.

The first time Kate hears about Latin America is when she meets Maria Brady during a tea in Nancy Dwyer's home. "She gave us an astonishing account of Buenos Aires, a place we had never heard of and never expected to see (and God forgives Maria, when we did see it, wasn't at all what she led us to expect)" (Nevin 1999 (1946): 10). The narrator has a tendency to reprove others, like Maria Brady in this case or her sister-in-law some lines above: "Mary, my sister-in-law, was a decent-living woman, and that is all the good that can be said of her" (Nevin 1999 (1946): 9).

After the encounter with Maria Brady, Kate and her friends begin to think of emigrating to Latin America. She conceives the emigration not as an economic solution to her "station in life", which was not bad, but as the answer to a premature feeling of loneliness: "it began to appear that none of us were wanted at home, so I said I wouldn't be left behind on any account, and would go to South America, too" (Nevin 1999 (1946): 10).¹¹⁰

Father Molloy suggests that Kate's father "write to the Bradys in Buenos Aires and make arrangements. Let them, if they must go, have introductions to respectable people" (Nevin 1999 (1946): 11). This is an example of established chain migration schemes that were very effective in the second part of the nineteenth century. Settlers in Argentina wrote to their family, friends, and neighbours in Ireland to convince them to emigrate, frequently to help them in rural business. Potential emigrants also wrote to acquaintances in South America to ask for help at the time of arrival. Catholic priests were key channels of these networks of introductions.

¹¹⁰ In spite of Kate's reasons to emigrate given by the narrator, in the back cover of the 1999 edition, the publisher mentions that "so many Irish during the nineteenth century [...] left poverty stricken Ireland to seek a new life on the lush, rich, fertile, Argentine pampas." This poverty is part of the oppression discourse, which frequently emphasises the British rule as the principal cause of emigration, though it is not the narrator's perspective.

Kate, her cousin Bessie, and friend Nancy Dwyer leave Granard, county Longford, via Athlone, Dublin, and Liverpool, and from there they sail to Buenos Aires.¹¹¹ Relations among passengers in the ship and with the crew are natural and spontaneous, but the girls show apprehension towards men. During the journey, the girls were

under the Captain's protection. [...] He was a nice friendly gentleman with a beard. He protected Nancy the whole way out, telling her not to trust the officers, and putting her on her guard against some of the gentlemen who were married and who wanted to have a bit of fun because their wives were not on board. Now and then he protected me, and warned me against some dreadful men in Buenos Aires whom he called "the natives." He said they would be apt to fall in love with my fair hair and my Irish eyes, but I must on no account pay heed to them, because they were tough customers and low curs. All the gentlemen on board said the same thing. The captain didn't protect Bessie very much, perhaps because she was seven years older than I, or perhaps because she discouraged him. There was something about my cousin that discouraged a great many men. I heard the doctor tell the first officer one day that she was a handsome woman by God, but frigid (Nevin 1999 (1946): 12).

There is a distinction between the representation of the Captain and that of other men on board, which may indicate a transfer of the narrator's filial values. The positive depiction of the Captain, "a nice friendly gentleman with a beard", seems to be related with his paternal attitude and image as a father providing protection. Additionally, in the narrator's mind, feminine values would be limited to women's "handsomeness" and, perhaps, chastity as a balance to her fear of the sexual menace posed by "the dreadful men in Buenos Aires".

At the time of Kate's emigration in the 1880s, the Nationalist movement was gaining popular acceptance in Ireland and in Argentina, among other factors because of the Roman Catholic hierarchy's support. However, the great majority of the Irish families in Argentina still considered themselves *ingleses* and felt closer to the English than to the Argentines.

In reference to this, three national identities are continuously portrayed throughout the novel, Argentine, English, and Irish. Shortly before alighting, Kate and her friends hear from a fellow passenger, Mr. Chilcote, who had already lived in Argentina for a number of years,

¹¹¹ A fictional mark, since from Granard emigrants bound to Argentina would travel instead to Mullingar, and then take the train to Dublin.

that “there was no hope for the country because it was not a British Colony. Then Mr. Jenkins told [Nancy] she had better marry an Englishman, and she said she would not dream of such a thing until we got Home Rule” (Nevin 1999 (1946): 14).¹¹² Chilcote’s remark represents the unanimous views of many Latin Americans and English residents regarding Britishness. Furthermore, Nancy’s final remark is significant and may be considered anachronistic because it implies her awareness of an Irish identity (“we”), and a detachment from British identity symbolised in the prospect of Home Rule. However, as she would consider marrying an Englishman under certain conditions, her perspective of the division between English and Irish is not ethnical but rather political. Remarkably, there is no reference in this narrative to marriages between Irish and Argentine persons, a fact which would have been judged by most of the Irish settlers as highly threatening to their ethos.

Kate’s first sight of the “natives” in Buenos Aires seems to be rather shocking, and she has ready conclusions about their decency.¹¹³ Physical differences with the narrator’s ideal of a body (colour of skin and hair) appear as the most intolerable factor to Kate. The men working in the port and the “mole”¹¹⁴ “were wild-looking shaggy men in coloured shirts, and, indeed, one could have believed anything of them” (14). When the driver held out his arms, she remarked that “very hairy they were, too [...]. I thought of all the dreadful hints I had heard about the natives, but I thought also that if he was impertinent I could hit him, so I let him pull

¹¹² Home Rule was a movement for the reestablishment of an Irish parliament responsible for internal affairs. An association, founded in 1870 by Isaac Butt, “sought to repeal the Act of Union (1800) between Britain and Ireland. Several Home Rule Bills were rejected by the House of Lords until 1912, when the first one was introduced but its operation was postponed when war broke in Europe in 1914. The Easter Rising of 1916 and the sweeping majority of the Sinn Féin in the 1918 general election were followed by unrest and guerrilla warfare. The Fourth Home Rule Bill was introduced in the Parliament in 1920, and finally the Irish independence was claimed by Dáil Éireann in 1919” (Oxford Dictionary of World History, Oxford U. Press, 2000).

¹¹³ In the context of this novel and of contemporary Irish emigration to South America, a *native* is an individual born in the region, whose ancestors were primarily Spanish and sometimes *criollo*, i.e., descendants of Spanish and Amerindians. Frequently, the Irish and other foreigners used this term derogatorily. Children of Irish parents born in South America were called *country-born*.

¹¹⁴ Phonetic for Spanish *muelle*, dock.

me up” (14). Later, one of the “wild men” on the pier fetched the luggage and Nancy thought he was stealing it and gave him a tug and ripped his shirt from the shoulder. The girls were impressed because he showed “a great deal of brown back” (14). At this time, Miss Honoria, the boarding-house keeper, says to Nancy: “Oh, my dear... never, never do that again! [These men are] extremely violent and passionate... You must on no account touch any of them” (16). In the following chapter, Kate and Bessie have a first encounter with a “nigger”.¹¹⁵ Bessie “only held her handkerchief to her nose and said: ‘Wasn’t it disgusting’” (18). Once at home, Miss Honoria continued to warn the girls against the “native, [who] is not to be trusted. My first and last word to you must ever be: Beware of the native! [...] The less you have to do with them, the better. My house, it gratifies me to say, is occupied exclusively by our own people” (22).

Kate’s belief in the superiority of her culture sometimes leads her to racially prejudiced views and remarks. However, she behaved according to contemporary values. Beyond the obvious bigotry, in all her representations of Argentine people there is a fearful mind, afraid of discovering similarities with a culture considered different *a priori*. It is fear because “they” (the local people) are different to “us” (*ingleses*), even if there is the possibility of finding a correspondence. Strangers are not defined by their own characteristics, but by the relative distance to the narrator’s perspective. This is common to Bulfin and other authors; however, there are ideological nuances in their appreciation of Latin American people.

¹¹⁵ The slave trade in Argentina and Uruguay was important until the independence from Spain in 1810. The majority of slaves were employed in domestic service, though many laboured with cattle in the *estancias*. During the nineteenth century there was a relatively important African population in the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The vast majority of this group died in the War of the Triple Alliance 1864-1870 against Paraguay and other conflicts, was decimated by outbreaks of cholera (1868) and yellow fever (1871) and was absorbed by other ethnic groups. Therefore, there were fewer black people in Argentina when Kate arrived in Buenos Aires (after 1870). The anachronism may be related to the narrator’s strong views against and fear of darker skin colours, which makes her see “niggers” when they were already exterminated from the Argentine society.

The same belief of superiority is apparent in Kate's views of social life. Before her first encounter with an Irish chaplain in Buenos Aires, Father Slattery, Eliza describes him as "a priest that rides about the camp christening and marrying and burying the Irish, so that they needn't be depending on the native clergy" (32).¹¹⁶

It was accepted among the Irish in the Río de la Plata region that priests were key agents of its social unity so they needed to be Irish-born or Irish descendants. As Fr. Fahy's biographer James Ussher argues, "the spiritual wellbeing of the Irish settlers demanded priests of their own race. There were, of course, Spanish speaking clergy in the city and sparsely populated country parishes; but our people do not learn Spanish easily, and the religious ways of the Latin races do not appeal to them" (Ussher 1951: 39). However difficult it was for the Irish settlers to learn Spanish for religious purposes, and taking into account that in the nineteenth century Roman Catholic public sacraments were administered in Latin, it appears that the second factor mentioned by Ussher, "the religious ways of the Latin races", was more important than the linguistic issue. McKenna adds that the Irish elite's goal was to build "a separate and very distinct Irish community in the country [...]. It must be said that the Irish immigrants were more than willing to remain an isolated English-speaking community" (McKenna 1994: 119). This tendency of the Irish to justify their isolation through religious beliefs can be viewed as a consequence of their self-perception as superior to the natives.

¹¹⁶ The active role played by a group of Roman Catholic priests during the second half of the nineteenth century gained solid prestige for them among Irish settlers, and helped to signify the Irish chaplains as symbols of their Irishness. In the Río de la Plata there were appointed Irish chaplains from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Fr. Burke until 1828, Fr. Patrick Moran 1829-1830, and Fr. Patrick O'Gorman 1831-1847. But it was the Dominican Anthony Fahy the undisputed spiritual leader of the community, and certainly the source of inspiration for the novel's character Fr. Slattery. Fr. Fahy landed in 1844 in Buenos Aires and developed a tireless activity among fellow Irish countrymen and women in the pampas. With the support and financial aid of Thomas Armstrong, a Protestant merchant from the midlands who had a solid position in Buenos Aires, Fr. Fahy achieved in twenty-seven years his goal of isolating the Irish and their families from the larger society, and giving them better economic and social opportunities than in Ireland. A later Kate's acquaintance, Mr. Kerrigan, tells her (perhaps too historically), that "Father Fahy [...] got us a loan" (Nevin 1999 (1946): 148). Fr. Fahy also gained a well-deserved prestige of match-maker among young Irish people.

Religious views in *You'll Never Go Back* are expressed in comments on the way an Irish young woman should behave in a foreign context. Almost all of Kate's social relations are from Ireland. Social gatherings in the *estancias* during the sheep-shearing season – as it was somehow idealised by David Barnwell – are in the style of the *meitheal*, the traditional Irish communal work-party, and are closed to the natives for linguistic reasons (Barnwell 1989).

This was the occasion for Irish chaplains to visit their flock, and Kate remembers that “they expect everyone of their nation... they receive everyone. It is a Mission... You will confess yourself and take the communion and hear Mass” (Nevin 1999 (1946): 185). She tells us the story of a young man, Ignatius Murtagh, who did not want to confess. He tries to hide from Father Slattery, but he is found by his father and obliged to “go in to yer duty now, ye limb of the mischief, or I'll skin the hide off yer back” (189). The boy finally receives the confession and Kate watches out of the corner of her eye how

the youngster knelt stiff and upright, listening. Presently he pushed back his hair from his forehead and began to speak out loud, not to whisper – I moved off farther, a bit ashamed of myself, and paid more attention to Mrs. Higgins' directions; but I couldn't resist taking a peep at the corner again, and when I did Father Slattery had raised his hand to give absolution, and there was a smile on his grim visage, Ignatius Murtagh leaned against the priest's knees, looking up into his face, his fear forgotten [...]. As we walked towards the house there was Ignatius Murtagh sitting in the dust with his back against the rough trunk of a *paraíso* [tree] and a faraway look in his eyes. Years after he was to hear my own confession many a time, for he became a Passionist himself, and often it was on the tip of my tongue to tell him I almost heard his first confession. But I never forgot the sight of the child sitting in the dust – perhaps it was then that the call came to him (189).

The narrator sets a mission in the countryside and conceives in her mind a religious calling for Ignatius Murtagh. More frequently, for the characters in *You'll Never Go Back* religion is an external value, which allows a series of advantageous relations inside and outside the community.

In migrations literature, homesickness is a recurring motif and home is a topos. In *You'll Never Go Back*, from the title all the way to its closing paragraphs, home is the basis for the narrative. The concept of home is conspicuously represented in this novel, with the

characteristic that in Kate's symbolic world this value changes its content from her planned resolution to return to Ireland to the reworking of her role in the larger society.

Kate's initial determination to go back home is represented in her dialogue with Fr.

Slattery:

- And what would you be doing with money, supposing you made any, Miss?
- I'd go home, Father!
- You would not! [...]. No one that comes out to this country to make a living ever goes back, d'you hear? So let that nonsense out of your head now, and settle down as soon as you get the chance with any decent fellow that'll have you (34).

In Fr. Slattery's view, the alternative for an Irish young woman to going home is balanced by the possibility to getting married ("settle down"). At this time, Kate does not agree with Fr. Slattery but closer to the end of the book her union with John is a key factor in her decision to stay in her adopted country. In chapter four of the book Kate finds herself alienated among the people in a carnival party in the city:

I was sitting there with my glass in my hand, people all round me, almost touching me, when suddenly I knew myself to be far away and alone, quite alone. I cannot explain it at all. A minute before I had been laughing. I was still warm from a lively dance. No one had been neglectful or unkind. Yet I was suddenly frightened, like a child that has lost its father's hand in a crowd. The people around me were strangers, shouting and laughing at each other. The people outside the window bars, going up and down the streets of this mad town, were singing and yelling in a language I did not know. Who knew Kate Connolly in this dreadful place? If she were to creep out quietly now into the darkness, who would miss her? If she were sad or ailing, who would care? (49).

Language conveys her feelings. The deictic values of some of these passages, which were of common use in nineteenth-century Irish literature and private correspondence in the region, are interesting to analyse the concept of home. To come "out" [to South America] or "this country" represent a cultural space somewhere on the periphery or directly outside of the narrator's central life, which is in Ireland. Conversely, "to go back" or "back home" are clear pointers of the psychological space where the narrator feels secure and protected.

Kate is not alone in her homesickness. Every emigrant knows the feeling, and knows the medicine too. During the party John Barry suggests that “the first months are the longest [...], it’s all right when you get used to it” (50). The Irish immigrants seem to accept their fate of staying far in South America instead of going back to Ireland.¹¹⁷ When Kate is living with her first employer in the camp, Mrs. Brophy reacts bitterly to her idea of going back home:

“When ya what?” she asked, with such a sneer in her voice that I said quite sharply, “Well, we’ll be going home some time!” “Indeed, and ye’ll not. Ye can let that out of yer heads. Who’d want ye?” [...] “I know dang well ye’d not be out here if there was e’er a man anxious to keep y’ at home,” she said. “And I know dang well ye’ll not go back to whatever ye kem away from. If ye have an ounce of sense between ye, ye’ll do what I done – marry a good man [...] that’ll leave ye in a good way when he goes – that is, if y’ever get the chance” (57).

Whether in Ireland or in Argentina, in the narrator’s mind, a woman’s fate is connected to her luck, or “chance”, to find a suitable companion to provide for her material and emotional needs. In fact, the ultimate reason for emigrating has little to do with the reasons depicted in the oppression discourse (economic, political, or social factors) but it is simply that “there was [not] e’er a man anxious to keep y’ at home”. Therefore, the narrator’s perspective conceives the opposition “out here-home”, which is a direct result of the possibility or not to “marry a good man”, i.e., to achieve her model of obtaining protection and security from men.

Not only Kate’s acquaintances are convinced that she will never go back home. News from home in a letter sent by her sister-in-law announces the arrival of a baby and suggests the same assumption: “a fine little fellow, thanks be to God. I am sure you will be glad to know you have a nephew *even if you never see him*” (92, emphasis added).

¹¹⁷ This is a value perceived positive by members of the local Irish community, who compare it to other European immigrants who supposedly went to South America to *facere l’America*, i.e., to make money and to go back to their home countries with assets but without having contributed to the development of their new countries. In spite of this, as stated above, it is estimated that only one out of two immigrants settled in the region. The persistent neglect of return migration suggests that the Irish had a stronger need to belong to the larger society in South America than other immigrant communities.

There is a time in her immigrant's life when Kate starts considering to settle in the new country. Security brought by marriage and possibly land possession are compared against the risk of going back to a place now viewed as unsafe, and to a situation that could exclude her from the paternal home. During a conversation with the Irish cook at Zamora's house, Annie Malone recommends

whatever yeh do, don't go back to the people that's rearing children. There's no room in the nest for the bird that left it. The young clutch and their mother 'ud peck the eyes out of its head. That's Nature. [...] I can only tell yeh what I done meself, and what I'm doing, and that's work. There's others that marries men wid a bit of land [...]. Then Julia kem out, and met John Brophy that was looking round for a woman to go to the camp wid him, and they done well wid the sheep, and he left her rich. Well, well, that's the way wid some. I never met the man I could have meself, and I'll end me days a cook amongst the natives, and isn't it all one in the end? (116).

Governesses, teachers, nuns, and nurses were other jobs in which Irish women were employed in Latin America. These middle-age women generally remained unmarried and showed a tendency to return home.¹¹⁸ But younger women who could marry men "wid a bit of land" were assured material protection during and after the life of their husbands. The number of Irish women listed in the Argentine census records as *estanciera* is significant. They "were more likely to remain in Argentina after being widowed, carrying on the work on the farm and continuing to raise their large families, having no means of returning to the British Isles or reason to do so" (Jakubs 1985: 153).

When Kate and John become engaged, they discuss the possibility of going back home:

- "Are we to live here always now, John, or can we go Home later on?"
- "Would you like to go Home, Kate?"
- "If we could, some day."
- "Well, we must then, some day," he answered. And we left it at that, and I was content.

¹¹⁸ The case of the English-speaking governess working for South American wealthy families was depicted in Maria Luisa Bemberg's film *Miss Mary*. Mary Mulligan (Julie Christie) is hired as a governess by an landowning family in early twentieth-century Argentina. She witnesses the artificial life of the upper class in the country and its political manoeuvring to install a fascist regime in power.

Nothing else is planned or prepared for an eventual return to Ireland, since the actual purpose of this conversation is just to make Kate “content”. Like William Butler Yeats’s fantasy of home when he was living in London, Kate’s Ireland “would be an ‘imaginary homeland’, the sort of place endlessly invented and reinvented by exiles who fear that, if they do not give it a local habitation in words, it may entirely disappear” (Kiberd 1996: 99).

In her prayers, Kate begins to think seriously of staying in the country instead of going back to Ireland. She finally changes her mind with respect to the initial “dreadful place” of the opening chapter, and maintains that she “always liked the country, and except for being a little homesick now and then, I have never regretted coming. But that evening it came over me that I loved it” (Nevin 1999 (1946): 200). For the first time, she loves her adopted country and decides to stay, though her home is in Ireland. “I can’t complain of my experience among the natives, whatever anyone else may say. So I stayed” (211).

With the prospect of a fading paternal security at home and the possibility of marrying John, Kate homesickness gradually vanishes. A letter from Ireland announces that her father has died:

The green woods, the winding path, the running water, the old farmhouse by the river – I might see all these again; but the tall figure slightly stooped wouldn’t be there. [...] I knew that one part of my life was over. Another part had begun. It was as if a book had been closed because I knew all that was in it; there would be no need to open it again [...]. I was not only accepting life with John Barry, I was accepting this country for better or for worse. What need to think of saving and going home, now that Father was gone? The old house, the river, the fields, the trees, they would always be there for others – for me they would be a beautiful memory, since those that made them real and gave them a meaning were gone (224).

The topographic imagery of home – “woods”, “path”, and “river” – disappears with her father. His death marks the loss of protection and security. But it also fades out when her “life with John Barry” becomes a viable option, as a counterbalance for providing material needs. Kate finally accepts her destiny of staying in South America when the paternal role of protection and nurturing is transferred from her father to John (and to his promise of material

stability). Security is therefore a key element in her feminine approach to home, and the value is modified only when the security found at home is replaced by equivalent security in the new country.

William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* (1900)

Kate's values are shared by William Bulfin's characters in *Tales of the Pampas*. However, these values are subtly modified, and conveniently manipulated, by Bulfin's eloquent narrative.

In every important social gathering mentioned in *You'll Never Go Back* there is an omnipresent character "in the cutaway coat, white waistcoat, grey striped trousers, gloves, spats, and dazzling patent leather boots, [he] was Felix Considine", the well-connected journalist of the *Weekly Star*. P. J. Kelly infers that this character is William Bulfin, and that the journal is actually the *Southern Cross* of Buenos Aires, directed by Bulfin from 1892 to 1902. As Bulfin was a friend of Kathleen Nevin's parents, his profile would be accurately narrated through Kate's perspective.

William Bulfin was born in county Offaly (at that time, King's County). He was educated at Cloghan, at the Royal Charter School in Banagher, and at Queen's College in Galway. In 1882 Bulfin emigrated with his elder brother Peter and worked in Irish-owned *estancias* in San Antonio de Areco. In his spare time Bulfin began writing articles for a small Irish-owned newspaper, the *Irish-Argentine*, published in Azcuénaga, San Andrés de Giles, an area with a large population of Irish shepherds.

In 1889, Bulfin moved to the city of Buenos Aires with his young wife, Anne O'Rourke, who had been employed as a governess at the Dowling *estancia*.¹¹⁹ Then he worked with a furniture importer, taught English, and also contributed articles to the *Southern Cross*, at that time owned by Michael Dinneen. "He signed his first article '*Cui bono?*', meaning 'To whose benefit?' but the typesetter changed the name to 'Che Buono'. The name, with the distinctly Argentine prefix of *che*, denoting affection and comradeship with the person so addressed and the Italian *buono*, meaning 'able', 'fit', 'good', delighted him and he used it all his life, always referring to himself as 'Che Buono', rarely as 'William Bulfin'" (Wilkinson 1997).

By 1892 Bulfin was working full-time for the *Southern Cross*, and six years later he was its editor and owner. He also contributed articles and stories to other newspapers, especially in the U.S., such as the New York *Daily News*. In 1900, Fisher & Unwin in London published Bulfin's collection of Argentine stories, *Tales of the Pampas*. In 1902, during one of his visits to Ireland, he toured the country on a seven-month bicycle journey. Sketches of his travels appeared in the *Southern Cross* and in the *Daily News*, and were eventually published in book form as *Rambles in Eirinn*. Rarely out of print, *Rambles in Eirinn* "has its place among the most renowned travel books ever written about Ireland" (Wilkinson 1997).

He was passionately nationalistic, and was considered "a vigorous defender of the rights of Irish Catholic immigrants and a proponent of the Irish language and Gaelic sports movement. In 1906, four years before his death, he was made a Knight of St. Gregory by Pope Pius X for his work among the Irish community in Argentina" (Wilkinson 1997). He died at forty-seven in county Offaly.

¹¹⁹ Bulfin's biographical data are taken mainly from Susan Wilkinson's introduction to *The Tales of the Pampas*, 1997. Wilkinson acknowledged the information provided by "the Bulfin family in Ireland, especially Anna McBride White and Jeanne Winder."

Tales of the Pampas is a collection of eight short stories about the Irish rural population in the plains of Buenos Aires, Uruguay, Entre Ríos, and Santa Fe. They were shepherds, mostly unmarried, “living in isolation in the pampas, of ne’er-do-wells a little too addicted to drink and not enough to work, of matrimonial ‘matches’ going hopelessly awry, of horseraces, gambling and near-fatal stabbings, of tragedy and death. Here too were stories of *gauchos* and descriptions of the pampas written with an insight and a sensitivity that few *gringos* have equalled” (Wilkinson 1997, original emphasis).

Wilkinson suggests that Bulfin intended these stories to be read “not only by scholars, but by anyone and everyone who enjoys a good yarn.” I argue in this section that Bulfin was primarily thinking of “anyone and everyone” who were Irish, Nationalistic, with strong attitudes against the English, and looking down at what he considered inferior races. In addition to this, Wilkinson adds that “the Irish men and women in Bulfin’s *Tales of the Pampas* are between two cultures, having left one while not yet accepting – even resisting – the other.” The Irish characters in these stories have not yet forgotten their Irish traditions. They live at 11,000 kilometres of Ireland but their heart is riding the green hills of the Midlands and Wexford. They have a strong sense of difference with the *gauchos*. Even if the narrator makes them work sympathetically with the Argentines, the characters feel uniquely different, and somewhat superior to *criollos*.

Tales of the Pampas is a good expression of the linguistic evolution of both English and Spanish among the Irish in South America. Phonetic marks have been represented typographically, i.e., *wan* for “one”, *wance* for “once”, *tay* for “tea”, *yez* for plural “you”, *sez* for “says”. Wilkinson observed that “the ‘t’ in the middle of a word is frequently thickened as in *sthraight* for “straight”, etc. while ‘d’ at the end of a word is often pronounced as a ‘t’, such as *beyant* for “beyond”. “When”, “men”, “them”, etc. are written as they were pronounced

(*whin, min, thim*). Some of the phrases are outdated today, such as *for the nonce*, meaning “for the moment”, or *without*, meaning “outside”. In addition to the effect of Spanish phonetics on the original language spoken by the Irish, Wilkinson observes that “Bulfin delighted in the midlands brogue of his fellow countrymen’s speech, and he strove to reproduce it by his pen as it fell upon his ears” (Wilkinson 1997).

In this book there is a particular use of Irish-language terms artificially mixed with the language of Bulfin’s characters: *begor(ra)*, *avick*, *bocaugh*, *oncha*, *pisherogue*, *sarra*, *arrah*, *garrahalya*, *bullabawns*, *thranee*, *smithereen*, and *alannah* are just a few examples. Moreover, there is a glossary included at the end with “Words of Irish origin” which were supposedly spoken by Irish settlers before arriving in Latin American ports. However, even if some families came from Irish-speaking areas in counties Cork and Clare, there were very few among the thousands coming from the Midlands and Wexford who spoke Irish. Adding Irish to the English and Spanish linguistic mix depicted in *Tales of the Pampas*, was intentionally arranged by Bulfin to give the impression that the emigrants represented the “authentic” Celtic-Irish, as opposed to the English or anglicised Irish.

In addition to Wilkinson’s view of the author’s intentions, Laura Izarra argues that “Bulfin is more an observer than an agent in the process of ‘becoming’ a ‘foreign native’: he is a foreigner completely adapted to the indigenous culture yet still in some respects feeling like a foreigner. Instead of creating diasporic cultural forms with a ‘new nationalist’ concern towards the adopted land, his narratives show how encounters of cultures encode practices of accommodation and resistance to host countries” (Izarra 2002: 6). Bulfin’s narrative “reaffirm the triumph of the Irish over the indigenous: exiles are ‘Irish in thought, in sympathy, and in character’ in a different society” (6).

There is a double-sided creation device in Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas*. The Irish are represented as opposite to the English. The diasporic context is ideal for this fictional process, since it provides a supposedly neutral atmosphere and elements that help to identify and reinforce the original "Celtic" (non-Anglo Saxon) values. On the other hand, Ireland is imagined as an ideal homeland. Bulfin "struggles to re-construct the locality of his motherland for the Irish diasporic subject" (7). To this we should add the vision of Latin America as an empty cultural space – a no man's land which anyone can possess; a vision shared with the British and falling under the European imperialist attitude towards the region.

Izarra also asks "what might be the cultural significance of a world wide dialectic of diasporas?" It would be beneficial to remark that the "dialectic" implicit in Bulfin's stories rhetorically manipulate a certain effect in his readers, and that his narrative is connected with a Catholic-Nationalistic discourse in vogue in Ireland.

In *Rambles in Eirinn*, Bulfin's account of his bicycle journey through Ireland, he laments "the mania of emigration in the labouring class of Ireland" (Bulfin 1995 (1907): 276). When visiting the valley of the Inny river, one of the areas of origin for the Irish in South America, he reckons that "the mills of MacGann, of Fagan, of Murtagh and others – all busy centres of industry forty years ago – are tenantless" (291). To Bulfin, emigration is evil because it deprives the cultural space of Ireland of her sons and daughters, who are the only possibility for a revival of the Gael Nation. "Ballinahoun is quiet enough now – too quiet, perhaps. Its turbulent spirit has been quieted in the tenements of New York and in the factories of Connecticut. Emigration has drained the young people in their hundreds from the fields and homes" (406). Izarra remarks that

not all the diasporas translate a homing instinct with a wish to return to reform the "country of origin." Certainly Bulfin lived in South America for seventeen years and was committed to the long-term Irish community in Argentina; yet he continued to condemn emigration from Ireland. Eventually he succeeded in going back to his homeland, settled his family

there and spent some more years in the triangular Irish emigration route across the Atlantic, staying more time in Argentina rather than in the United States and bringing alive many voices of the crossing in his subsequent narratives. He returned to Argentina many times as friend and stranger. He tended to see his country from Argentina as a romantic place for home coming. Back in Ireland, he saw his motherland through the eyes of a nationalist determined to reform his country and change the course of Irish history (Izarra 2002: 9).

Bulfin was conscious of his own political mission – to gather support among the Irish outside of Ireland – but particularly of his Irishness and of his ideological role within the Diaspora and at home. He wished to convince the Irish abroad to support the Nationalistic movement and to raise the awareness of the Irish at home of their own ethnic identity.

Bulfin's narrators intelligently disguise themselves under diverse forms. In *The Fall of Don Jose*, during the initial camp gathering of *gauchos*, the third-person narrator describes the landscape of cattle hands after a hard day, their yarn with the cook Domingo, and his preparation of *asado*. The cook proposes a story: "I am sorry for your sake that I cannot give it to you as it fell from him in his graceful Spanish [...]. Who can aspire, above all, to catch even a gleam of it in any other language than Argentine Spanish? Let me therefore ask you to be indulgent with me while I try to give you the story of Don José as Domingo told it while we swallowed the roast. Here it is" (Bulfin 1997 (1900): 116). The apparent reason for silencing the narrator is that the original language was not the one of the audience. Domingo starts telling his story in the first person (in English), since he is one of the characters of his narrative. At the end of the story, the initial narrator speaks again and comments briefly on Domingo's anecdote. Indeed, in *The Fall of Don Jose* there are two narrators: one omniscient, unintrusive, and mostly impersonal (only twice does the narrator say "I" just before letting the second one speak), and another, Domingo, who has a restricted point of view of the group of characters. In this case, the use of two narrators suggests the aim of the author to assign greater omniscience to the Irish one. He is a well-educated foreign person who speaks English and Spanish and appreciates the customs of the *gauchos* even if he does not belong to their class.

A similar narrative structure is used in *A Bad Character*, in which the leading narrator depicts the atmosphere of the place, including the characters Sailor John and Mike Horan and their dialogues. Then there is a transition: “and as to the rest of the story, let it be told by Mike’s words as we had it from his lips one day when a few of us were helping him to cure scab in his flock” (23). The omniscient third-person narrator appears only once as the first person (“we”), with the purpose of introducing the second narrator. Mike Horan is a naïve first-person narrator, with a restricted point of view of his story. In this case, the initial narrator does not resume at the end.

With these two exceptions, all the other stories in *Tales of the Pampas* are narrated in the first person by an omniscient and intrusive character who has a precise (albeit not always central) role in the plot. Further, at the end of *El High-Life* the narrator styles himself “the narrator” to emphasise his status, certainly better educated than the other characters (66). Likewise, in *The Enchanted Toad* the narrator parodies the journalistic style in a way that makes the reader think that he is well acquainted with newspapers and the press (44).

Throughout the stories, the characters are a collection of diverse cultural backgrounds and origins, with disparate educational levels and professions. Among them we may find Irish rogues, Spanish noblemen, Scottish book-keepers, Galician shop-keepers, *estancia* hands of *gaucho* origins, and of course, Irish shepherds and sheep-farmers. The narrator presents what he perceives as “bad” and “good” characters, and in this appreciation there is no distinction of nationality or culture, except for the Irish.

Indeed, all Irish characters fall into the “good” category, and even if they are “bad”, they are likeable folks. They may be “very unpopular,” “dishonest,” or even a “liar” like Sailor John in *A Bad Character* (after whom the story is titled). The Sailor is “the biggest rogue in South America. He’d steal the milk out of St. Patrick’s tay if he got the chance” (33). But he

is a buffoon and makes the reader laugh; in dealing with him the narrator never switches from irony to objective criticism.

Another character, Paddy Delaney, is styled by the narrator the “hero” of *The Enchanted Toad*. Paddy is “not on very good terms with anybody”, a “lazy pig”, a “polecat”, “a pugnacious, reckless free lance, who had a born gift for getting into trouble and for getting other people to dislike him” (38). However serious are the sins committed by Sailor John and Paddy Delaney – malicious behaviour, deception, pillage, robbery, vagrancy, laziness, waste, intemperance – both characters are freed at the end of the respective stories, and the only condemnation they get is social isolation (a status with which they actually are quite comfortable).

Characters portrayed as “bad” by the narrators never have Irish names, and they are treated in a different way from the Irish. Barragan, a character in *The Defeat of Barragan*, is the typical *gaucho malo*, with whom the reader cannot be sympathetic. Castro tells the narrator that Barragan, a dishonest town mayor in the countryside, has abused his power and sent “my father in prison three years ago on a false charge. He struck a brother of mine last year. He insulted my *comadre*’s daughter at the shearing. He stole my best horse, or had it stolen, and counter marked it – my lovely black *tordillo*!” (97). There is a fight and Barragan “never got well enough to ride a [horse] race or draw a knife again” (99).

There is bias by place of origin or ethnicity. According to Benedict Kiely, Bulfin’s construction of the pampas is “a curious world of foundations laid by imperial Spain, and Ireland, and England, and everywhere, and meeting with the descendants of men who had roamed those plains before Cortez. Out on the pampas his preference was for the company of either the gauchos or the Irish, [...] both his own fellow-countrymen and the hard-riding Spanish-Indian cowboys” (Kiely 1948).

Bias is extended to certain people from Spain. Francisco, the shop-keeper in *A Bad Character*, is a “crooked ould Gallego”.¹²⁰ His hypocritical attitude is symbolised in his grinning to everybody, regardless of what he thinks about his clients. And at the end, it is the *Gallego* who frees the Sailor: “I suppose the Gallego let him go” (Bulfin 1997 (1900): 33).

There is another non-Irish character that is in fact “good”. Arturo is a young Spanish aristocrat who escaped from scandal in his motherland and was sent to the pampas to change his life. In *El High-Life* there are positive attributes, and according to Benedict Kiely he would have been a representation of Bulfin’s elder brother. El High “was so fond of running contrary to public opinion, so fully possessed by the spirit of contradiction, that he was always looking for points upon which to differ from you” (53). However, the narrator has a positive and sympathetic view of El High perhaps because of his noble origins. Nevertheless, he dies in a storm. *El High-Life* is the only tragic story on this book, and its resolution depicts the only loser, who is not from Ireland but from Spain.

Don Jose, the cook in *The Fall of Don Jose*, is a different type of hero. He is not associated with a specific country of origin, but he is “a sweet villain, a very distinguished hypocrite” (120). In this story, there is an opposition between city and country; the cook is from the city and belongs to the urban milieu. He “shrugged his shoulders in disdain if you spoke to him about a horse. He took no interest whatever in camp work. The Spanish he spoke was not camp Spanish; it had the twang of the town. He could neither ride like a Christian nor skin a sheep. All he was good for was cooking, when he felt in the humour, and dressing himself in clean socks and things regardless of expense” (117).

Don Jose is not respected because of his urban manners, as when he looks down upon the *gauchos*. Kiely quotes a passage of an article in the *Southern Cross*, in which Bulfin reports

¹²⁰ During the nineteenth-century many shop-keepers in rural areas of Buenos Aires were Catalanian immigrants. However, in Argentina all Spaniards were, and still are, labelled *Gallego* (often with a derogatory implication).

that he “went to a certain railway station one afternoon to send a telegram to Buenos Aires, and while I was there the train came in. I do not know whether it was the engine, or a look at the passengers, or the roar and rattle of the wheels, or all of these things together, that set the wheels of memory revolving. The city life of student days came back, the city began to call. As I galloped home it struck me that the camp was not meant for me, after all” (Kiely 1948). However affectionate is Bulfin’s regard for the camp in these stories, his views of the pampas and their inhabitants are those of an outsider, i.e., someone with an urban view who respects and admires the countryside and its wilderness but at the same time recognises his belonging to the city as opposed to the otherness of the countryside. This attitude is certainly connected with Argentine guiding fictions of the time among the landed bourgeoisie, in particular those which considered local reality from an urban perspective.¹²¹

The personalities of the characters and their relations in the *Tales of the Pampas* may be schematised by grouping the stories in the following way: a) two Irishmen, with contrasting moral marks, like in Don Quixote (*A Bad Character*, *The Enchanted Toad*, and *The Course of True Love*); b) Irish and *gaucho* working together with equivalent status (*Castro Telleth of Tavalonghi’s Horse*, *The Defeat of Barragan*, and *Campeando*); c) everybody against the (“good” or “bad”) hero (*El High-Life* and *The Fall of Don Jose*).

The analysis of the characters will be complete by adding that a connection may be established between the “bad” characters in the *Tales of the Pampas* with certain people encountered by Bulfin in his *Rambles in Eirinn*. These people are depicted as bizarre, immoral, and cruel persons. He meets with them in Abbeyshrule, along the Inny’s banks. They are Irish Travellers, vaguely related to the Roma people, “puzzling people, [...] nomads, vagabonds, heirs of generations of wandering and disrepute”. He asks himself, “are they some

¹²¹ Cf. among others Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Civilización y Barbarie* (1845).

remnant of the Firbolgs or degenerated Tuatha de Danann?” (Bulfin 1995 (1907): 294, 299). Then there is the Jewish pedlar of Murtagh’s Ruins, who “smiled an oily, cross-eyed, subtle smile of self-apology”, and “with the abject vileness of the renegade who is false to his blood, he tried to heap obloquy upon the Jews and upon the Jewish race, the stamp of which was indelibly set upon his every feature” (307). Travellers and Jews in *Rambles in Eirinn*, like some of the Spanish and *gaucho* characters in the *Tales of the Pampas* are invariably evil. The Irish are never represented in this way but in positive terms, which is a symbol of Bulfin’s perception of ethnic superiority of Irish culture.

A passage cited by Thomas Murray in his account of the Irish in South America and quoted from the *Southern Cross* is typical of Bulfin’s representations of Ireland as homeland:

There! your day’s work is done. Shake up the hay under your horse’s head, give him a drink and go home to your hut; load that pipe of yours, sit down on the doorstep with your shoulder against the wall, and read up your curling wreaths of smoke and incense to the stars. If memory comes back upon you now, may it be pleasant! May it tell you of distant scenes where the cool breezes are whispering to the leaves of mighty elm or ash; where the woodbine peeps through the ivy around the gnarled hawthorn trunks; where the wild rose bedecks the hedges; where the larch spreads out its feathery branches, like a festoon of giant fern across the burnished glory of the sunset;¹²² where the moss-grown old abbey ruin looks so solemn in the waning twilight; where the glad voices answer each other as the young folks scamper over the meadows; where the brook murmurs its eternal story to the overhanging willows and hedges, and where the gleam that steals through the hazels on the hillside and blinks at you across the valley comes from the fire, around which are seated those whose loving thoughts are going out to you in your exile. Baa! It is only the bleat of the hungriest sheep in the corral, but it brings you back to your surroundings. [...] Heigho! It is terrible. But go to bed you sun-tanned exile; go to bed you unfortunate shepherd! (Murray 1919: 194).

For Bulfin, the notion of “home” is ideologically connected to forced exile rather than to voluntary emigration. The Irish settlers in Argentina are represented as people who were forced by the English rulers to leave their homeland in search of liberty, instead of people looking for better economic and social positions abroad. This manipulated view of emigration is problematic in historical terms. Many of the contemporary readers of Bulfin would have

¹²² None of these trees are native species in Argentina, but they are abundant in the Irish Midlands.

reacted negatively to their own image as exiles, so the final reading would be ambiguous to his public.

Two different types of emigration discourses have been recognised in Chapter Two of this thesis. In the hegiran model the emigrant considers his or her new country only as a temporary space and makes every effort to return home. In the diasporic model the emigrant is open to adapting to the new country as his or her new home. In each case, memories of home are construed in a different way. Of course this is not a bipolar scheme, but it helps to understand different patterns regarding the psychological relationship of the migrant with his or her homeland and the immigration place. This tension of the exile regarding the homeland is represented in the dialogue between Castro and the narrator of *Castro Telleth of Tavalonghi's Horse*, when they wander from place to place looking for some cows that are missing:

Because of the *querencia*, my friend. You know what it is? The *querencia* is home – the home of the horse and the cow – just as one's native land is home – just the same. I think our cows have gone towards home. They were reared on the San Lorenzo and, very likely, they grew homesick here. You do not believe it? Well, you will know the country better one day, and then you will see how soft-hearted cattle and horses are about home – how the *querencia* attracts them. It is a thing most strange, no doubt, but you will have observed that this camp life of ours is full of strange things, eh? (Bulfin 1997 (1900): 72).

The implicit message is that for the narrator a feeling of homesickness is not enough. Like the cattle and horses in the pampas, in addition to demonstrate emotions it is a duty to go back physically to the *querencia*, home. In the narrator's view this is the natural way of things. Instead of lamenting the loss of our origins (diaspora), Bulfin prompts us to think of returning. Exile (hegira) is temporal and its aim is going back home. This discourse conveys the author's ambiguous values regarding the problem of Irish emigration, which include the positive experience of thousands of Irish in many world destinations and, at the same time, the need in Ireland to regain its people.

The characters of *The Course of True Love* “are Irish in thought, in sympathy, and in character. Exile has, of course, modified some of their idiosyncrasies and accentuated others. The wilderness [...] has taken the corners and angles off their Celtic mysticism. Spanish phrases and idioms have inflected the English which they habitually use; but the brogue of Leinster and Munster has remained intact. Spanish and Creole customs have, in a greater or less degree, insensibly woven themselves into their life; but they are unwilling to admit this, and their struggle to preserve the traditions of the motherland is constant and earnest. [...] Old geniality is there and [...] the inextinguishable humour of their race abides with them undimmed” (136). Whether materially or psychologically, returning home is the reason why the Irish characters in the *Tales of the Pampas* make efforts to continue being “all Irish in thought”.

Along the lines of contemporary writing by leading Argentine readers, Bulfin uses the *gaucho* as the main symbol of Argentininess. Opposite to Nevin’s *You’ll Never Go Back* and to the general discourse of the Irish and British contemporary literature and press, the *gaucho* has a positive reading. Previous descriptions of the cowboy of the pampas have been frequently derogatory and recorded the low regard of the Irish immigrants in South America towards the local population.

The “Gauchesca” literature, initiated by Bartolomé Hidalgo in Uruguay and other poets in both sides of the Río de la Plata, was made widely known by José Hernández’s popular *El gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872). This text strongly contributed to replacing the wretched image of the *gaucho* with a symbol of courage, national values, and race (which was later transferred by the same author to representations of *gaucho* submission to the landed elites).

In Bulfin’s logic the *gauchos* and the Irish shared similar circumstances. The spaces colonised by the English and the Spanish in Ireland and in Argentina belonged to the Irish and

the *gauchos* respectively. Courage was needed to recover those spaces from the colonisers. And it was precisely this courage that Bulfin chose to represent through characters like the narrator in *El High-Life*, who asserts that “when a horse falls, a good rider should, in gaucho parlance, come off standing” (62). The main character of Castro Telleth of Tavalonghi’s *Horse*, is described in glowing terms:

A gaucho from head to heel and in every part of his body. He was still under thirty years of age, but had already made a name for himself in his own way. A good-looking fellow despite his swarthy skin, white toothed, slim, somewhat bow-legged while on the ground, but a living and superb picture when on horseback – such was Castro, the *capataz* or foreman of the cattle herding, my companion and immediate superior. What more about him? A good deal, but let his character grow upon you as it did on me. Mount, if you like, and come with us (71).

This is indeed a strong contrast with the narrator’s viewpoint in *You’ll Never Go Back*. The shift – in accordance with Ireland’s nationalistic movements of the turn of the century – is towards admiration of the *gauchos* and dislike of the English. However, there are still ethnic differences, like Castro’s “swarthy skin”. Skin colour is an important marker, as when the narrator in *Campeando* observes that “a man surrounded by dogs and brown-skinned children” is distinctly a *gaucho*.

Castro describes Tavalonghi as a “hide-buyer in Lujan ten years ago [who] made a fortune out of your countrymen, the sheep-farmers” (74). For the narrator, the Irish are not *gauchos*. The local horsemen are respected and valued, but the Irish are closer to the *ingleses*. A possible reason for this is suggested in *The Defeat of Barragan*, in which it is affirmed that *gauchos*’ “attitude belonged to no school of fence but their own.¹²³ They had no rules to hinder them, no seconds to obey” (99), while there is a positive regard for British civilisation, even if it means subjection to the English.

¹²³ “School of fence”, normally referred to as *hedge schools*. During the Penal Laws in Ireland and up to 1782, Catholic teaching in Ireland was banned, therefore teachers had to conceal themselves and their pupils behind countryside hedges. In fact, in the nineteenth century there were no real hedge schools in Ireland, but the name persisted to designate the informal schools in rural areas. The story of the hedge schools was transmitted to the children of the Irish in Argentina as a legend. “John spoke about the classes he attended. Very often in a ditch with a hedge to hide them, those who were caught were shot” (Murphy 1909).

Kiberd observes that “like Americans of the same period [1890s], the Irish were not so much born as *made*, gathered around a few simple symbols, a flag, an anthem, a handful of evocative phrases” (Kiberd 1996: 101, original emphasis). With the co-operation of the Gauchesca imagery, the Irishness of the Irish settlers in South America is raised by Bulfin to its highest levels.

In Bulfin’s symbolic world, *irlandeses* and *gauchos* are able to work together and share basic things in life. In *Campeando*, the Irish-*Gaacho* pair discovers the whereabouts of the stolen cows because “the brotherhood of gauchodom had asserted itself” (Bulfin 1997 (1900): 109). However, a fellow countryman warns the narrator that

you’re gettin’ too much of the country into you, me boy – racin’, and bettin’, and helpin’ the natives to cut each other to pieces, and galvantin’ round the seven parishes, suckin’ mate an’ colloquerin’ with the gauchos – that’s all right while it lasts. But you’ll get a bad name for your self, take my words for it (110).

A “good name” is important among the Irish community. It is recognised as a key condition for improvements in the social and economic ladder. Nevertheless, the narrator is not convinced by the isolationist discourse of his fellow countryman. The story concludes: “he failed to convince me” (110).

Conclusion

The different attitudes of the Irish characters in William Bulfin’s *Tales of the Pampas* and Kathleen Nevin’s *You’ll Never Go Back* have been examined in this chapter. The main interest of these texts is that they are a significant source of information about the cultural values of the Irish in South America, even if they are limited to the physical space of the pampas and therefore are not representative of the total Irish population in the region.

The narrator in *You'll Never Go Back* has an unrelenting fixation with homecoming. The main character Kate considers a moral duty to go back to her family farm when she saves some money in Argentina. But in her mind the return is intimately connected with the paternal protection she envisages as a primary need. When Kate receives the news of his father's death, the relation is transferred to her boyfriend John, and she decides to stay in South America. It is a story told with sensitivity, skill, and ingenuity, which reveals the inner beliefs of the narrator and articulates the symbols shared with other Irish emigrants.

The characters in Bulfin's short stories challenge the accepted values of the Irish in South America, who considered community isolation from the larger society as the best strategy to maintain intact their customs and traditions.¹²⁴ Bulfin accepts and supports the *gaucho* as the natural companion of the Irish settler in his struggle for independence. In his view, the Irish join the Argentines (the colonised) against the British and Spanish (the colonisers).

¹²⁴ A contemporary immigrant group from the British Isles, the Welsh of Patagonia, firstly arrived in 1865 in Puerto Madryn on the Atlantic coast of Chubut. They settled along the Río Chubut and eventually prospered as a bilingual English-Welsh (and later Spanish-) language community. Patagonia was chosen for its isolation, which was the desired context for the group leaders to develop an uncontaminated community. In fact, they wished to create a separate country, with its territory, language, symbols, and religion, but finally integrated in the growing Argentine society under pressure of the central government. Their case is more extreme than that of the Irish, but it exemplifies the type of isolation these immigrants groups were seeking outside of the British Isles.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NARRATIVES IV: DANCING, CELEBRATING, AND MERRYMAKING

Introduction

Music is the most ethereal of rituals. It exists only in the instant it is listened to, and its rules are valid just at the time of performance. It is not mediated; the listener is the sole witness of its being. Nothing can anticipate its existence, and after it is performed nothing remains of its instantaneous essence.

As an art, music – the art of the muses – is contextually and socially signified. Music is expected to convert noise to sound according to the ethos of a society, whether to harmonise with it or to challenge its accepted principles. From a historical point of view, music cannot be separated from its most immediate context, i.e. the observance of social ritual through dance and celebration. It is also intimately linked with the nature in which sounds originated and were processed through social conventions.

Being Ireland one of the few countries prominently displaying a musical instrument in its national coat of arms (the *cláirseach* or Gaelic harp), one would think that the Irish are given a particular musical inclination.¹²⁵ Indeed, the Irish are as disposed as anyone to musical endeavours, and music is one of the means to relate to others. As in the case of other social groups, the music of the Irish in Latin America has always been subsidiary to their internal and external relations.

¹²⁵ Other independent country displaying a musical instrument, the drum, in its coat of arms is Uganda. From 1909, the island of Montserrat adopted the Irish harp in its coat of arms together with Erin, a female representation of Ireland. The historical coat of arms of Northern Ireland includes, among other elements, a banner with a harp surmounted by an imperial crown. Incidentally, the harp is the national instrument of Paraguay.

Music, Dance, and Celebrations

In the beginning of their Latin American experience, the traditional Irish music known by the immigrants was rapidly adapted to, and in most cases watered down by, the new context in which they lived and acted together with other people. Thus until the last decades of the twentieth century, Irish music has not been a distinct feature of this immigrant group. Most of the melodies, rhythms, and instruments used in traditional Irish music had a secondary influence among the Irish and their families in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, or Mexico. Conversely, in a process that reflects the adaptability to otherness they swiftly accepted local musical patterns of harmony and rhythm and in some cases became recognised composers and interpreters of Latin American music. In a massive movement of cultural mix-up that is characteristic of the middle classes in Latin American and Caribbean societies, the Irish and their descendants were irresistibly attracted by the hybrid rhythms and melodies with African, Amerindian, Arab, and European roots.

Indeed, there was a presence of traditional Irish airs in certain nationalist circles from the 1870s and, especially, in the 1910s and 20s. Press features, including ballads published by anonymous readers, and republican articles in the nationalist papers witness to the presence of traditional music in the events and celebrations of the Irish communities. Photographs from the first half of the twentieth century show immigrants playing the uilleann pipes, concertina, violins, guitar and other instruments in performances which suggest the familiar and social mediation of music (see Appendix A, Figure 15).

In the 1980s, as a cultural outcome of the war between Argentina and Britain for the possession of the Falkland Islands, members of the Irish community in Argentina and other countries who supported the anti-colonialist stance like Peru and Brazil started to be attracted by Irish music as an element of their group identity. Furthermore, nationalist and regionalist

groups in the region were also drawn to Irish music as a representation of revolutionary and anti-imperialist values. Likewise, musicians in Ireland explored Irish-Latin American events and people like William Brown of Argentina and the St. Patrick Battalion in Mexico, and produced theme songs about these topics.

Musical Manoeuvring of Ethnic Symbolism

According to the *Li Ki* (or *Book of Rites* attributed to Confucius) “in an age of disorder, ceremonies and music are forgotten and neglected, and music becomes licentious” (XVII, 2, 12). Frequently, music and ritual are used by the elites to rule over society and to forestall rebellion and rupture in the hierarchical structure. When the people revolts against the authorities, music evolves to more spontaneous forms. Many Irish ballads were created within the context of challenging English rule, thus their natural and unstructured air. However, when the Irish formed structured communities – generally led by merchants and priests or prominent church members – their music went backwards in the process suggested by Confucius, from “licentious” to rigid and self-controlled.

One example of these social values is the song *Admiral William Brown* (1987) by the Wolfe Tones. It is one of the most well-known ballads about any Irish in Latin America, and it sounds celestial to the ears of many Argentines in search of their Irish identity. But this ballad illustrates the rigidity of Irish culture in Latin America. The lyrics of *Admiral William Brown* include inaccuracies, spelling errors and manipulated anachronisms. Many classics contain factual errors or historical blunders and that is not a detriment to their artistic quality. But the reason for their success – usually in the following generations – is that they break a set of aesthetic (and often ethic) paradigms and develop new ways of perceiving the world

through their musical worth among large segments of different societies. It is not the case of the ballad *Admiral William Brown* by the Wolfe Tones:

From a county Mayo town came a man of great renown
As a sailor and a soldier was none bolder
He went to America at an early age they say
As a cabin boy to sail the wide world over

Then adventure took him south to the De La Plata mouth
San Martin was on the route in Argentina
So three whaling ships he bought and Brazil and Spain he fought
And freedom then he sought for Argentina

Now Admiral William Brown you're a man of courage shown
And in battles fought the odds were all against you
But your Irish heart was strong and in memory still lives on
And in Ireland there are some that don't forget you

On St. Patrick's day it's told you had many victories bold
You defeated all invaders thugs and bullies
Then through the Pampas rose and you found a happy home
"Las Islas Malvinas, Argentinas"

He had heard of Irish hands in noble gallant bands
That helped to free the land called Argentina
He had heard with great acclaim the Patricios name and fame
When in 1806 the British came for slaughter

And to this very day in the Argentine they say
The English ran away from Buenos Aires
To the islands further down and they took them for the crown
"Las Islas Malvinas, Argentinas"

We remember William Brown and his land of great renown
He, invader of the islands from your country
When in 1833 were by pirates forced to flee
And in Ireland sure we know the story fully

And the people that went too to the Argentine when new
To escape the English laws and wars and famine
They had proved a loyal crew just like all the Irish do
"Las Islas Malvinas, Argentinas"

The old colonial days and the cruel English ways
With her thunder plunder we will teach the natives
For the Brits are going to war just like Whitelock did before
With her ships & guns & drums & flags & banners

In the Empire days of old when they murdered for the gold
And paraded it around the streets of London
Oh no human rights were given to the natives dead or living--
"Las Islas Malvinas, Argentinas"

In the Argentine he died Father Fahey by his side,
Fifty-seven was the year his father mourned him
A hero of the nation he's remembered with elation,
Throughout the world were freedom still abounds

And the Southern Cross take note were bold Willie Bulfin wrote
 “The Irish still support you Argentina”
 With the Empire tumbling down let no Paddies back the crown--
 “Las Islas Malvinas, Argentinas”

If the lyrics are ill-written and non-coherent, the musical quality is remarkably poor. From the monotonous signature to each of the chords, every element can be easily predicted and almost nothing surprises the ear. The song was written by the Wolfe Tone’s leader Derek Warfield, and it was firstly published in their 1987 album “The Spirit of Freedom”.¹²⁶

An older ballad, written by Walter McCormack of Kilrane, county Wexford, commemorates emigration from the Barony of Forth to South America.

The Kilrane Boys
 (1913)

In being on the twelfth of April, in eighteen forty four,
 In the blooming spring, when birds did sing, all round sweet Erin’s shore.
 The feathered train in concert, their tuneful notes did strain,
 To resound with acclamations that echoed through Kilrane.

Twelve matchless youths, they did approach, in splendour did appear.
 Leaving farewell with all their friends, likewise their parents dear.
 As usual to their bosom flew some mirth for to display,
 They cried Adieu, God be with you, we’re bound for America.

Oh, my darling boys, what is the cause, or the reason you must go,
 To leave your own dear native land, to a land you do not know?
 Here you embrace the light of faith, to vice you ne’er did stray,
 But what great news have you seduced by wild America?

Foul British laws, they are the cause, that we must go away;
 From the fruits of our hard labour, we are defrauded here each day.
 To see our friends in slavery, tithes and taxes for to pay,
 Before we’ll be bound by those bloodhounds, we’ll cross the raging sea.

From Luther’s seed sprang those ill weeds, that feed on our sweet corn,
 If we’ll complain our blood they’ll drain, and threaten us with scorn.
 Our clergy flock, through shade and knock, afraid their prayers to say,
 Till the hand of God sent forth the rod, and clear them all away.

Let our country’s pride be still our guide, those weeds will soon decay,
 The tyrant’s wheel will clog, and squeal, and turn them the right way.

¹²⁶ Recorded by Inchicore, “The Spirit of Freedom”, by Derek Warfield and The Wolfe Tones.

Fortune will smile all o'er our Isle, and long may reign our Queen.
We will have content when Parliament, blooms in sweet College Green.

We will every man stand firm by Dan, besides our country,
May God release her from her chains and grant her liberty.
We ne'er will fail to gain Repeal, and to defend our cause,
Until you return to us again, my darling Kilrane Boys.

I thought it bare to persevere, they were all so well inclined,
They're a credit to our country, and they're equals we can't find.
With a blessing from their clergy, and neighbours where'er they go,
Their prayers will cool the angry waves, let the winds blow high or low.

There's William Whitty, and his bride, their names I will first sound,
John Connors, and John Murphy too, from Ballygeary town.
William Lambert and John Donnelly, all youths that none can stain,
Nicholas Kavanagh and Tom Saunders, all four from Ballygilliane.

From Ballyhire, Nicholas Leary, a most superior man,
James Pender, Patrick Howlin and John Murphy from Hayesland.
And Laurence Murphy from Kilrane, joins them in unity,
They're bound for Buenos Aires, and the land of liberty.

The thirteenth day, on Wexford's Quay, there were many go bid farewell,
They stayed conversing with their friends, till sound of the last bell.
Three cheers they gave for Ireland, which echoed down the quay,
And with one for Dan, and sweet Kilrane, then boldly sailed away.

And now they're on the ocean wide, may angels be their guide,
And waft them safe o'er angry waves, rough rock and swelling tide.
Here's a hope we all will meet once more, with health and wealth in store,
May God return them to their friends that bloom in Kilrane's core.

According to Paddy Berry, the ballad was written “between May 30th and September 6th 1844” (Berry 2010: 11) though the nationalist language is typical of the early twentieth century. The first published version was included in the *Southern Cross* of 25 July 1913 to commemorate the death of the last Kilrane Boy, John O'Connor (1817-1913). Within a few weeks it was republished by the *Wexford People*. A centenary celebration of the departure of this group was held in Kilrane on 11 April 1944, and to honour their memory “the cart which brought some of the emigrants into Wexford, was drawn in the procession” (Ranson 1975: 74). Fr. Ranson's version omits the names of some of the emigrants and many verses.

The ballad was composed as a dialogue between the narrator and the Kilrane Boys. In the first three stanzas the narrator introduces the Kilrane Boys and their quest for “a land you do

not know” in “wild America”. He also asks what is the cause of their departure. They reply in the following three stanzas, describing the “foul British laws” that do not allow tenant farmers to own their land. Religion is vividly present confronting the “ill weeds” (Protestant landlords) that sprang “from Luther’s seed”, and the “sweet corn” (Catholic farmers). Following Daniel O’Connell the Kilrane Boys “ne’er will fail to gain Repeal” but at the same time they wish “long reign [to] our Queen”. In the last five stanzas of the ballad, each of the twelve Boys is mentioned by the narrator, who wishes that they may “return to their friends that bloom in Kilrane’s core”. The view of Buenos Aires as “the land of liberty” and the cheers to Ireland and O’Connell suggest an anachronistic nationalist outlook. The main reason for their emigration was the calculated possibility of economic and social ascend to landownership envisioned in the pampas.

Another ballad cited by Ranson was composed by Bill Sutton of Kilmore. Sutton had spent twenty-one years in Argentina and spoke Spanish very well. When he died in 1946, he “took to the grave with him a very interesting ballad which I had failed to take down. The ballad dealt with a ship which ran aground somewhere in the West Indies. The crew were attacked by natives but the latter were driven off by the passengers under the leadership of a Fr. Flynn who was going to some of the Mission lands” (Ranson 1975: 74). Among Irish symbols, a priest leading the defence of a group of emigrants is a reminiscence of the gallant deeds by other Catholic priests in Wexford, like Fr. John Murphy during the 1798 insurrection against loyalist and royal forces (which originated the ballad *Boulavogue*, by the Clancy Brothers). Catholic priests like Fr. Ranson (a member of the Companions of the Cross) have been frequent authors or propagators of nationalist folk songs in Ireland and in South America, and in many cases the heroes in those pieces were other priests.

This group of immigrants – in particular those in the Río de la Plata region – or at least their community leaders, were driven by strong ethnic and ideological values that determined and limited their capability to shape a new society composed of diverse cultures. Therefore, their musical representations were rigid and generally lacked the interchange with other genres that is so typical of Latin America. Indeed, Irish music – any music – can be sublime; but when the genre imposes a superstructure on the artist so that he or she cannot be creative enough to break with the rules of that genre it is the time to break the genre.

There is an inverse relationship between the effort made by the migrants to progress socially and economically, and their potential adaptability and capacity to change and interact with other social or ethnic groups. When they arrive in their new countries, they can (usually) bring just their labour and they have no or limited financial resources. Therefore, they tend to forget strong identity marks (e.g. language, religion); they build new links with other groups and develop receptive characteristics for their own group. However, when the migrants and their families develop the economic capacity to possess land and other means of production, their social behaviour evolve and they close the entry of other people into their circle. Of course this is a simplistic perspective and each migrant group have their own complexities. As described above, the Irish in Latin America were exposed to different factors at home and in their destinations, and consequently developed different sub-groups.

The Irish who arrived in the Río de la Plata before the 1880s could manage to build a more or less homogenous group, with their own linguistic marks, institutions, media, and social structure. With a relatively low re-migration rate and a successful integration into the local economic cycle, some of them managed to own land and had the income to finance another wave of immigration from Ireland. The economic upper segment integrated the local bourgeoisie and adopted their cultural and musical tastes, chiefly imported from Spain,

France, and England with little adaptations to the local rhythms. The middle classes stubbornly adhered to the Irish national identity and developed a preference for Irish melodies with a strong influence from the Irish in the United States. The immigrants who arrived after the 1880s had to adapt to adverse conditions. Access to landownership had been closed to capital-less settlers, and the labour competition with immigrants from other origins increased the re-migration rate of this group. Those who stayed in the region adapted to indigenous or immigrant groups and in many cases partially or entirely lost their Irish identities. They were attracted to local and immigrant music and some of them even developed artistic careers.

In music (as in any art but especially in music), the case of artists that go against the mainstream genres, melodic patterns, or traditional instrumentation is usually the exception rather than the rule. In Irish traditional music such a case becomes extremely unusual and paradoxical. Musicians must break the rules and subvert the values, but at the same time represent through their compositions the existing values in the society in which they live. A static social structure restricted by powerful moral norms and isolated from external cultural influences could hardly inspire innovation among its musicians. “Traditional” is synonymous with preserving the old forms and any threat to “tradition” is perceived as putting the society in danger. When musical revolutionaries like Astor Piazzolla in Argentina or Heitor Villa-Lobos in Brazil created new genres out of their respective traditional music, they confronted strong resistance. Villa-Lobos was accused of Europeanising the local music to please his transatlantic public. Likewise, when Piazzolla’s creations were classified as commercial music, he replied that “the tango is to be kept like it is: old, boring, always the same, repeated. [...] My music is very *porteña*, from Buenos Aires. I can work over the world, because the public finds a different culture, a new culture. [...] All the ‘upper thing’ that Piazzolla makes is music; but beneath you can feel the tango” (Saavedra 1989). Only societies that are in the move, that are ill-defined and open to external influences are able to allow radical innovations

like those of Villa-Lobos or Piazzolla. They represent in their work the changing values of their societies, and they gain over the resistance of the most reactionary segments offering a basic musical form based on traditional patterns.

Irish Contributions to Latin American Music

The case of Irish-Latin American music is illustrative of the relationship between an immigrant culture and the values in the receiving society. Even if the creation of this category is perceived as too ambitious and only gathers disparate musical representations, it helps to understand the cultural concoction between two social groups.

Some of the Irish immigrants and their families completely integrated into the local societies, thus contributing to different musical cultures. Buenaventura Luna (born Eusebio de Jesús Dojorti Roco) (1906-1955), poet, song-writer, journalist and radio host, descended from one soldier (named Dougherty) of the 296 combatants in the British army who stormed Buenos Aires in 1806-1807. They were taken prisoners after the defeat in Buenos Aires, and were confined in San Juan (Coghlan 1982: 8). Luna's *zambas* and *chacareras* customarily focus the local *gauchos* and indigenous peoples, and the parched landscapes of his birth place Huaco, near the border between San Juan and La Rioja.¹²⁷ Buenaventura Luna started in 1940 his successful radio shows *El fogón de los arrieros* and *Seis estampas argentinas*, followed by *Al paso que van los años*, *Entre mate y mate... y otras yerbitas*, and *San Juan y su vida*. He not only made known his own creations but also allowed and encouraged other groups and musicians to play their pieces. He wrote more than 500 songs. No traces of Irish music or themes can be identified in Luna's songs.

¹²⁷ *Zamba* (known in other South American regions as *zamacueca*, *cueca*, *marinera* and *chilena*) is a dance in 6/8 time originally from Peru and with African influences. *Chacarera*, a fast-tempo dance alternatively in 6/8 and 3/4 time.

Carlos Viván (born Miguel Rice Treacy) (1903-1971), known as *El irlandesito* was a tango singer and song-writer. His first recording is from 1927 and he worked with the orchestras of Juan Maglio, Pedro Maffia, Osvaldo Fresedo, and Julio De Caro. He went to work to Brazil and the United States, where he sang tangos and jazz. He had “a small warm voice, within an alto-tenor range, as it was common then, plus a feature that made his voice unmistakable: his vibrato” (*Todo Tango*). Among his creations are *Cómo se pinta la vida* and *Moneda de cobre*, which is about the daughter of a “blond, drunk and ruffian father” and an African-Argentine woman. This tango represents the tough integration of destitute European immigrants who arrived in Buenos Aires by the end of the nineteenth century and joined the growing marginal classes in the city. In her youth the prostitute was a beautiful woman with the blue eyes of his father (*ojos de cielo*) and the black curly hair of his mother.

Moneda de cobre (1942)

Lyrics by Horacio Sanguinetti

Music by Carlos Viván, *El irlandesito*

Tu padre era rubio, borracho y malevo,
tu madre era negra con labios malvón;
mulata naciste con ojos de cielo
y mota en el pelo de negro carbón.
Creciste entre el lodo de un barrio muy pobre,
cumpliste veinte años en un cabaret,
y ahora te llaman moneda de cobre,
porque vieja y triste muy poco más valés.

Moneda de cobre,
yo sé que ayer fuiste hermosa,
yo con tus alas de rosa
te vi volar mariposa
y después te vi caer...

Moneda de fango,
¡qué bien bailabas el tango!
Qué linda estabas entonces,
como una reina de bronce,
allá en el “Folies Bergère”.
Aquel barrio triste de barro y latas
igual que tu vida desapareció...
Pasaron veinte años, querida mulata,
no existen tus padres, no existe el farol.
Quizas en la esquina te quedes perdida
buscando la casa que te vio nacer;
seguí, no te pares, no muestres la herida...
No llores mulata, total, ¡para qué!

A well-known female tango singer from a later period was Blanca Mooney (1940-1991), with ancestors in county Westmeath. She made tours to Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, the United States, and Japan, recorded more than forty times and worked with the orchestra of Osvaldo Fresedo. Her rendition of *Arrabalero*, *Dónde estás*, and *Julián* became very popular. In addition to these artists with Irish roots, in the early twentieth century the tango and waltz composer Joaquín A. Ceniccola published “Dublin Football Club”, most likely in connection to a visit of the team.¹²⁸

One of the essential composers of Latin jazz, the trumpet player and arranger Arturo (Chico) O’Farrill (1921-2001) led his own big band and created celebrated pieces in the genre. Chico O’Farrill was born in Havana, the son of a Cuban father with remote Irish roots and a Cuban mother of German descent. He was sent to military academy in Georgia (U.S.), and back in Havana he studied in the school of law to follow in the steps of his father and grandfather. But he was captivated by big bands and the atmosphere of the night clubs. He studied with Félix Guerrero at the Havana Conservatory and started playing in professional bands. He moved to New York and studied with Stefan Wolpe. Benny Goodman hired O’Farrill as staff arranger, and it was playing in his band that he wrote one his first hits, *Undercurrent Blues*. In the 1940s and 1950s Chico O’Farrill recorded the *Afro Cuban Jazz Suite* with Charlie Parker, Flip Phillips and Buddy Rich. He also wrote music for the film and advertising industries, and arrangements for renowned jazz musicians, including Art Farmer’s acclaimed *Aztec Suite*. He was followed by his son Arturo O’Farrill, winner of a Grammy Award in 2009 for “Best Latin Jazz Album”. Another member of their extended family, Juan

¹²⁸ Among other artists with Irish ancestry in the region was the French-Canadian Antoinette Paule Pépín Fitzpatrick, who penned her works as Pablo del Cerro and wrote several songs made famous by her husband Atahualpa Yupanqui. Maria Elena Walsh, with Spanish and Anglo-Irish roots, is a well-known song-writer, singer and poetess in Argentina. During an RTÉ interview with Bill Meek in 1987, Walsh expressed the view that “it is important to be bred up with two languages and ... I inherited this English tradition, I think the Irish sense of humour. And my mother ... I had a Spanish-Andalusian grandmother so I think Irish and Andalusian is a very good combination for poetry and for fantasy” (“Voices from the Camp” by Bill Meek, 2004).

Ramón O’Farrill, was the mayor of Havana in 1902-1905 and founder of the municipal school of music, which was changed from military band to municipal orchestra.¹²⁹

Indeed, the most popular Irish-Latin American topic among song-writers has been the San Patricios. The saga of the Irish and other soldiers who deserted from the United States army and formed the Mexican St. Patrick’s Battalion in the Mexican-U.S. American War (1846-1848) is the subject of a growing number of pieces. This popularity runs parallel to the copious literature about the San Patricios, both academic and in fiction, and the films and documentaries. Among the songs about San Patricios there are traditional ballads and rock rhythms. Probably the best composition is Charlie O’Brien’s *Pa’ los del San Patricio*. Other renditions include songs by David Rovics (*St. Patrick Battalion*), Black 47 (*San Patricio Brigade*), The Fenians (*The San Patricios*), Street Dogs (*San Patricios*), Ollin (*San Patricios*), Niamh Parsons with Graham Dunne (*The Men that God made Mad*), The Plankrunners (*San Patricios*), The Wakes (*St. Patrick Battalion*), and others.

Recently, the veteran group The Chieftains announced the release of *San Patricio*, “an unprecedented blend of the musical heritage of Ireland and Mexico” that “brings their [St. Patrick’s Battalion’s] story to life through heart-stirring ballads and effervescent dance songs from both countries, including traditional ‘sones’ that the San Patricios might have heard while in Mexico, and Irish airs and reels that evoke the homeland they left behind” (The Chieftains official pages and Concord Music Group website, www.concordmusicgroup.com, cited 19 January 2010). The album was co-produced with the U.S. American guitar player Ry Cooder (famous for his *Buena Vista Social Club*, 1997), and includes songs with Lila Downs, Los Folkloristas, Los Cenzontles, Carlos Núñez, Los Camperos de Valles, Chavela Vargas, Los Tigres del Norte, and other recognised musicians in Mexico and the U.S. As a natural

¹²⁹ Another Juan Ramón O’Farrill, a Catholic priest, was mentioned by Fidel Castro in his speech before the National Federation of Sugar Workers (15 December 1959) as a traitor who accused the revolutionary regime as a dictatorship.

extension of The Chieftains's main public of Irish-U.S. Americans, they are now aiming at the Mexican population living in the U.S.¹³⁰ Although I could only listen to partial tracks, the marketing intention places this work in the direction of the process from revolutionary artistic production to a celebration of commercialism in consumer culture. The lyrics of one song include an appeal to Mexicans to unite against a common adversary. In *March to Battle (Across the Río Grande)*, with Banda de Gaitas del Batallón, Los Cenzontles, and L.A. Juvenil, the plural first person is definitive mark of the sense of belonging to a group while the "Yankees" represent the Other:

We are the San Patricios, a brave and gallant band
 There'll be no white flag flying within this green command
 We are the San Patricios, we have but one demand,
 To see the Yankees safely home across the Río Grande...
 We've disappeared from history like footprints in the sand
 But our song is in the tumbleweeds and our love is in this land
 But if in the desert moonlight you see a ghostly band
 We are the men who died for freedom across the Río Grande

(Concord website, www.concordmusicgroup.com, cited 19 January 2009)

Without any doubt, the San Patricios is a subject that attracts many artists in Ireland and in the United States. However it elicits relative interest in Mexico and in Latin America. The main reason may be the traditional hegemony of the U.S. in, and mutual fear from, Latin America, as well as the influential role played by the Irish population in the U.S. political and social life.

Musical Resistance to Integration

Already in the 1870s there were signals pointing to the fact that Irish music was crossing the Atlantic Ocean from north to south and from east to west. English-language newspapers published in South America – in particular the *Southern Cross*, and occasionally the *Standard*

¹³⁰ Instead of presenting the album in Mexico, The Chieftains will launch it during a tour in several U.S. cities from 17 February 2010 and ending in New York on St. Patrick's Day (<http://www.thechieftains.com/>, cited 19 January 2010).

– used to include stories, yarns, ballads, folk poems, and short verses with traditional Irish topics. Among the Spanish-language media, *El Monitor de la Campaña*, the first newspaper in rural area of Buenos Aires, published letters, poems, and ballads addressed to the immigrants.

El Monitor de la Campaña was edited by Manuel Cruz in Capilla del Señor, a town located eighty kilometres north-west of Buenos Aires, and settled with many Irish families who owned or worked at mid-size sheep-farms and *estancias*. Between 1870 and 1872 a series of Irish ballads appeared in *El Monitor de la Campaña*, written in English and covering topics of interest to the Irish. The six ballads in this series were published anonymously and signed by “P.C.”, “A Wandering Tip”, and “J. J. M.” There is no indication as to the real identity of the authors, though similar texts were published in contemporary English-speaking newspapers by teachers in Scottish and Irish schools, and by Irish Catholic priests with a nationalist orientation.¹³¹

The first ballad, *Donovan’s Mount*, published on 19 February 1872, was inspired on the popular “drinking songs” in Ireland. These songs – similar and possibly related to the seventeenth-century *airs à boire* in Brittany – are folk melodies sung by groups (typically of men) while consuming alcohol. Before the first stanza the author specifies that Donovan’s Mount should follow the air of *Lanigan’s Ball*, which is a popular Irish drinking song with the lyrics and tempo arranged as a tongue twister. In the Irish song, Jeremy Lanigan is a young man whose father passes away. The son makes the arrangements for the wake, a traditional Irish ritual to honour the dead (mentioned at the end of in this chapter).

¹³¹ I am thankful to Juan José Santos of University of Buenos Aires (Instituto Ravignani), for sending copies of these ballads.

In the South American version of *Lanigan's Ball*, an Irish teacher (in fact a wandering tutor supposedly with better education than the shepherds) looks for a job in one of the *estancias* owned by Irish families.

Donovan's Mount

By A Wandering Tip

Air: *Lanigan's ball*.

I roved round the camp till I met with an Irishman
Whose houses and lands give appearance of joy,
So I up and I asked if he wanted a pedagogue
As I tipped him the wink that I was the boy.
He made me sit down put my head in my hat again
Then ordered a *peon* my traps to dismount
And said as he handed around a big bumper full
"You're welcome señor to Donovan's mount."

Chorus: Hip, hip, hip hurrah for Donovan
For racing and spreeing I've found out the fount,
And if it should hap that one loses himself again
Let him ask the way to Donovan's mount.
I have travelled afar but never encountered yet
Another to equal this green spot of camp;
The boys that are on it are full of all devilment
And dance till sun-rise by the light of a lamp.
And as for the girls these nymphs of the *Pampa* wild
Sure he never escapes them the victim they count,
They always are gay and as bright as the morning dew
These magnetic needles of Donovan's mount.

Chorus: Hip, hip, hip, & &
Tho' La Plata boasts not of the steep mountain towering high
Or the vales that abound in far Erin's green isle,
Yet sweet are the plains where the red savage wanders free
When lit by the light of a fond girl's smile.
Then here's a flowing glass to our Irish *porteñas* all
May they ne'er have more sorrow than mine to recount
For sorrow and I are like distant relationships
Since the first day I stepped into Donovan's mount.

Chorus: Hip, hip, hip, & &

(*El Monitor de la Campaña* N° 35, Capilla del Señor, 19 February 1872, original emphasis).

The fresh rhythm of this ballad invites to dance and "spreeing", and to celebrate "this green spot of camp" and "sweet [...] plains where the red savage wanders free" and the beauty of "nymphs of the Pampa wild" (with a carefully balanced "flowing glass to our Irish porteñas").

Other ballads published in this newspaper include themes of homesickness and romantic nostalgia (*The Shepherd and his Cot* and *Hibernia*), freedom and adventure (*A Jolly Shepherd*

Boy), love and desire (*The Pampa's Fairest Child*), and political struggle in Ireland and in Latin America. In general, the voices of their speakers hint to people with superior education and writing skills. Among Irish teachers in contemporary Argentina and Uruguay, a few were convinced republicans who tried to instruct their audiences in the love for Ireland and in the ethos of Irish nationalism. Nevertheless, the content of these ballads is eminently local and adapted to the interests of the Irish rural population in the pampas.

Hibernia

By J. J. M.

Just now two years have pass'd and gone
 Though they like centuries appear
 Since, sad, forlorn, and alone
 I sail'd from Ireland dear
 Yet though I ne'er may see it more
 Can I forget my childhood's home
 My own loved Hibernia's shore.
 When standing at my rancho door
 Or when riding o'er the pampa plain
 I silently long to hear once more
 The sweet voices of her labouring Swain
 Though the pampas may have fields
 As fair and green all o'er
 To me there is no soil that yields
 Like my own Hibernia's shore.
 I long to see my native groves
 Where oft I've chased the bounding hare
 And snar'd the woodcock and the doves
 And listened to the cuckoo's voice so clear
 Oh had I but an eagle's wings
 Across the Atlantic I would soar
 Nor would I think of earthly things
 Till safe on Hibernia's shore.
 Oh could I cope with Bards of lore
 I'd proudly write in words sublime
 The praises of her fertile shore
 While life stands in her youthful prime
 For when I'm sinking towards the tomb
 And my feeble hand can trace no more
 The words I'd like to write of that dear home
 My owned loved Hibernia's shore.
 Though there are comforts beyond La Plata's mouth
 Where the Indian once did freely roam
 Still I'd forsake the pleasures of the South
 For those of my own dear native home
 Old Erin for thee this heart is weap'd in grief
 A heart that's Irish to the core
 Still shall I love the Shamrock Leaf
 That grows on Hibernia's shore.

(*El Monitor de la Campaña* N° 43, Capilla del Señor, 15 April 1872).

The speaker acknowledges the “comforts beyond La Plata’s mouth”. However, there is a clear inclination for Ireland, and to him “there is no soil that yields / Like my own Hibernia’s shore”. The conceptual development of Ireland as home is symbolically represented by the Shamrock Leaf. The emigrant behaves as exile and his attitudes towards Ireland are of continuous longing for “that dear home”.

Other ballads were published in different editions of *El Monitor*.

The Jolly Shepherd Boy

(4 March 1872)

I am a jolly shepherd boy
And live upon the plain
Oh! once I was my parents’ joy
Ere first I crossed the main
And all the comfort I now seek
Is in the flowing glass
And stroll to town just once a week
To court a Spanish lass.

Chorus: Then let us toast at shepherds gay
And fill our glasses high
Let us be merry whilst we may
And live it out so spry.

Ours is a life of heat and cold
Of sun and chilly days:
The lightning’s flash and thunder rolled
From heaven’s deepest bays
Have nought for us of dread import
When on the Pampa wide
Nor do we seek the shade to court
At summer’s fiercest tide.

Chorus: Then let us etc.

The shepherd’s is an humble cot
And frugal is his fare
He envies not the rich man’s lot
For he is free from care
His faithful dog and gallant steed
He values next his life
Companions of his strife.

Chorus: Then let us etc.

Oh! who’d not be a shepherd boy
Beyond La Plata’s mouth
Oh! who’d exchange for cities’ joy
The Pampas of the South
For Freedom has her regal seat
Upon this ocean plain

And should she e'er from here retreat
 We'll follow in her train.
Chorus: Then let us etc.

By A Wandering Tip

The Pampa's Fairest Child

(25 March 1872)

It's not from home this fair one's come
 Tho' handsome is her mien
 She's a fair lass non can surpass
 Born on the Pampa Plain.
 My wishes keen have always been
 And they still hold out unfailed
 to love this dame unknown to fame
 The Pampa's Fairest Child.

When I saw today her smiles so gay
 Cupid did me enchain
 Perchance ere long if fortune's strong
 Her affections I may gain
 Her looks do show she's handsome O
 She leaves one all beguiled
 Her winning glance I met by chance
 The Pampa's Fairest Child.

'Tis natural for me living free
 Amongst the gaucho tribe
 To be carried away' by this maid so gay
 Whose beauty I can't describe.
 Some people say I'm led astray
 And harbour thoughts too wild
 In loving this one and others none
 The Pampa's Fairest Child.

By J. J. M.

Untitled

(27 May 1872)

At ere as o'er the trackless wild my Saino bounds along,
 My thoughts are of the pleasant past and of a gladsome throng,
 Of scenes no Southern sun can scorch in memory's verdant plain
 Tho' bronzed may be the tenement in which such fancies reign.

But as I near the distant mount my thoughts come back again,
 And place before my longing eyes, the children of the plain,
 Whose merry laugh recalls the days of innocence and joy
 Ere cares and blighted hopes of youth could sweets of life destroy.

Yet little reek I for them both, when my god steed and I
 Are sailing o'er the pampa main, beneath His care on high;
 And every bound my Saino gives rewards a weary strife,
 And makes me gay and happy in this wilderness of life.

Then hail! La Plata, tho' by birth an exile on your shore,
 Adopted land both wild and grand I'll try to love you more,
 For freedom unadorned hold last my roving mind,
 And makes me scarce lament the land and friends I left behind.

By A Wandering Tip

Songs and musical elements can also be identified in emigrant letters. Dances followed social events and horse races, and basic musical skills were a component of the education in Irish schools in the pampas. However, Irish parents in Argentina were not very enthusiastic on the musical prospects of their children studying in Ireland. In a letter to his brother in Wexford, Patt Murphy of Rojas, notes about his son Johnny that “as to learning music, unless he is possessed of an ear and good taste for same, I consider [it] perfectly useless” (Patt Murphy to Martin Murphy, 3 August 1879).

On the other hand, the Irish immigrants and their families appreciated the musical skills of the Argentines. In the shearing season, “they have what they call ‘Bailes’ or dances [...] their favourite instrument is the guitar and almost all of them play a little [...] they have great taste for music so for them it is a time of great joy [...] people coming out from England are greatly amused at their dances” (Kate A. Murphy to John James Pettit, 12 September 1868). This points to the increasing affinity of the Irish with the local cultures, with which in three or four generations were completely integrated.

Collectively, the Irish musical representations in Latin America are better represented by the productions of “Paddy Sad” than “Paddy Mad”. According to Gerry Smith, Paddy Sad “connotes a history of dispossession and defeat. [...] The tragic fall away from Celtic Eden [...] a kind of Celtic melancholy” (Smith 2009: 52). Paddy Mad is the comic counterpart to his melancholic relative, “his Bacchanalian other, given to pleasure and excess as a quasi-religious response to the disappointments of everyday reality” (52). Merchants, businesspeople, priests or shepherds, the Irish who settled in the region followed a bourgeois work ethics based on stern and strict standards. Accordingly, they would not (at least ostensibly) show a life of party and dance. The ballads published in *El Monitor de la Campaña* mentioned above can be classified in those appealing to Paddy Mad (*Donovan’s*

Mount and *The Jolly Shepherd Boy*) and to Paddy Sad (*Hibernia, The Pampa's Fairest Child*, and the untitled ballad), but none challenge the hierarchical structure of their society based on landownership. Tom Garrahan and John Murphy are good examples of this attitude.

Tom Garrahan of Lobos “never went to dances or meetings so that I had the name of being rather a dry subject” (Tom Garrahan Memoirs, 1864-1912: 26). He wished to represent a teetotal attitude towards leisure and serious work, and refers metonymically to himself as “dry” with regard to drink. But that does not mean that he had no opportunities to celebrate. Social gatherings were organised by the Irish families in the countryside, and “there were lots of dances at Slamon’s, Walsh’s, Lawler’s, Zapiola’s, Moore’s, Seally’s, Seery’s and some times at our house. I always had to stay at home as [brothers] Santie and Josie never missed one, and somebody had to stay at home, so it always fell to me. When the dance was at our house of course I was there, and enjoyed myself very much, but for all that I was considered dry as I did not take part in the drinking” (31). Irish gatherings were also set up by clubs and institutions in the towns. “About 1896 we got up a club in Lobos. It was called the Lobos Hibernia Club, and I was treasurer while it lasted. Besides, I had to do nearly all the entertaining and management. There were several dances at the “Jardín” (Hotel). People came from Monte, Navarro, Las Heras, Marcos Paz, Saladillo and as far as Salto” (31).

John Murphy’s interest in music or dance was close to nil. All his attention, even more than Tom Garrahan, was centred on the wool business, prices, land, and workforce, with a consideration to family and friends in Argentina and in Ireland. In a few instances in his letters to Ireland, horse racing is mentioned as an entertainment. “We are to hold some Races at the Estancia on next Monday. [...] to be followed by a dance that night” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 31 August 1873).

Dances and musical gatherings were more frequent in the cities than in the rural areas. Patrick Moore mentioned in 1869 the news that a company of Christy Minstrels had been formed in Buenos Aires, following the successful creation of Edwin Pearce Christy (1815-1862) in the United States. In the performance tradition of blackface minstrelsy, white entertainers imitated slaves, including African-American jargon, songs and dances.

In its evolution, the glittering Latin American music has undoubtedly received its major influences from Amerindian, African, and Iberian cultures. However, the role of Irish and other European immigrant music, even if a very minor one, may have been underestimated.

The Acculturation of St. Patrick's Day and Other Celebrations

Thomas Murray refers that in December 1881 “the Holy Cross College (Irish), at its examinations had its hall decorated with United States and Argentine flags, a select company invited, and closed its proceedings with ‘Auld Lang Syne!’” (Murray 1919: 272). Such a hybrid celebration was the result of negotiating identities among the English-speaking groups in South American communities. The Scottish song “Auld Lang Syne” is a traditional poem by Robert Burns written in 1788, which spread to remote locations of the British Empire and became an iconic representation of friendship and social harmony in the English-speaking world. The Irish captured elements of different cultures to build their own identity in Latin America and to adapt their customs to the demands of the receiving societies.

The first St. Patrick's Day in the region was celebrated on 17 March 1770 in a church built by Lancelot Belfort (1708-1775) at Kilrue by the Itapecurú River (Maranhão State, northern Brazil). In Buenos Aires, the Irish day is celebrated since the 1810s, although the first recorded St. Patrick's Day was in 1829, and was “duly commemorated by various private individuals of this city, natives of Erin's Isle, although no public entertainment took place.

The flag of old Ireland floated from the top of Mr. Willis's Naval Hotel (Irish Jemmy's) and its occupants seemed to have no other thought but to honour the day" (*The British Packet*, 21 March 1829 in Hanon 2005: 70). The following year

there were several private parties, in which every honour was paid to the sainted day. [During] a supper and ball at the quinta occupied by Mr. Welsh, near the Recoleta [...] upwards of 60 persons sat down to a sumptuously provided table, at which three jovial hours were spent, during which toasts analogous to the occasion were drank, and appropriate songs were sung. The pleasures of the festive board being over, the lively dance was introduced, which was continued without the occurrence of anything to interrupt the hilarity and good humour which prevailed throughout (*The British Packet*, 20 March 1830).

A singular celebration of St. Patrick's Day took place in Peru in 1824, in the Andean mountain village of Huamachuco. An Irish officer in Simón Bolívar's army, Francis Burdett O'Connor, the young soldier Arthur Sandes from county Kerry, and William Owens Ferguson from Belfast met with the Venezuelan general and hero of South American independence Antonio José de Sucre. O'Connor "pulled from his baggage the two bottles of Irish whiskey that he had carefully preserved to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. 'With the help of these,' wrote O'Connor, 'Sucre, Sandes, Ferguson and myself had an excellent drinking session that night'" (Francisco Burdett O'Connor, *Un Irlandés con Bolívar*, Caracas: El Cid Editor, 1977, 69-70, cited in McGinn 1995: 26-27).

The feast of the Irish saint took place, paraphrasing Tim Pat Coogan, "where ever green is worn" in Latin America and the Caribbean. With a substantial Irish community, Argentina led the celebration every year. By the early twentieth century, "more often than not it was Irish clergy who organised things" (Edward Walsh, "St. Patrick's Day, Buenos Aires, 1905" in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, January 2005). As reported in the newspapers, the 1905 party was a great success and every detail was taken care of by the organisers, including

the handsome room [that] had been suitably prepared for the occasion; musicians were also in attendance, and the strains of the orchestra below stairs, blending with those above, lent an unusual attraction to the festivities. The menu was got up in Aue's Kellers usually excellent style, abundance of good things and choice wines meeting with praise from the assembled guests. About 10.50 the toast commenced and, with the replies occupied the rest of the evening. Good humour and general satisfaction prevailed throughout. Among the guests were many well know Irishmen of the city and camp, and some of the speeches were eloquent while all were highly patriotic. As the night wore on and the formalities came to end, things assumed a more convivial character (*The Standard*, 19 March 1905).

The toasts were momentous occasions to convey political and social messages addressed to different audiences: "The land we live in", "Ireland a Nation", "Our Clergy", "Gaelic League", "The Irish and Irish-Argentine Community". They also reflected the diversity and opposing factions within the Irish group.

St. Patrick's Day celebrations evolved in the twenty-first century into diverse and sometimes contrasting events. In Argentina, the liturgical ritual continues to be managed by the Catholic priests and lay members of the church, and starts in the Irish parishes with "the entrance of the celebrants accompanied by the Papal, Irish and Argentine flags, demonstrating the convergence of religious symbolism with emblems of ethnicity" (María Inés Palleiro *et al.*, "St. Patrick's Day in Buenos Aires: An Expression of Urban Folk Tradition" in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 5:1, March 2007, pp. 35-46). The authors of this article interviewed participants in the mass, and asked them about the other event, the party in the pubs and streets of Buenos Aires. "We do not like the street parties very much... because the religious significance is lost", "The street parties... as long as the idea of celebrating the saint is maintained, that's fine, but getting drunk, no..." (37). On 17 March 2005 some streets in the Retiro area of Buenos Aires were the stage for a crowded celebration organised by the group of bars and breweries and the municipal government, "which set the scene for a performance with its own meaning" (39). These massive celebrations have redefined their exclusivity in

order “to attract tens of thousands of people, the majority of whom have no connection to the migrant group, and who consume large quantities of beer” (39). In these public carnival there is a transformation “from the ideal to the material and physical plane demonstrated by the behaviour of the attendees: excess, close physical contact, the euphoric behaviour of the participants channelled through shouting and jumping, and an uninhibited vocabulary full of elements associated with the satisfaction of bodily desires such as sex and drinking alcohol” (39). The feeling of belonging to an Irish group is homogenously shared and exalted in the liturgical celebration, while it disappears in the street carnival with its heterogeneous features. The heterogeneity “was evidenced by the diversity of the mini-musical shows (murgas, rock music, Scottish bagpipes)” (39).¹³²

St. Patrick’s Day in the island of Montserrat is an ambiguous festivity that is determined by historical and social factors. For many Montserratians the commemoration is grounded in a slave revolt on the eve of 17 March 1768, when the plantation slaves took advantage of the festive atmosphere and attempted to overthrow their Irish and British masters. However, other islanders observe the traditional Irish celebration as an ethnic-oriented high point in the year. “St. Patrick’s Day remains an example of contestation, of colonial and tourist impressionistic histories versus independent and nationalistic impressionistic histories, with many Montserratians also happy just to enjoy the week-long extension of the weekend” (Skinner 2004: 163). The three positions are illustrated by Missie O’Garro, a cleaning lady, for whom St. Patrick’s Day “celebrates a slave’s victory in the 1768 revolt”, by Doc “St. Patrick’s Day is a time for additional work during the day and partying during the night”, and by the Irish-American tourists visiting Montserrat, who consider that St. Patrick’s Day can “at last be celebrated in a hot and sunny climate” (154).

¹³² *Murga*, a form of popular musical carnival typical of Montevideo performing choirs in the streets and accompanied by percussionists.

Drinking to Death

The Irish are well known for their association with alcohol drinking. However, this reputation is not based on historical facts or tradition. Even if Ireland is fourth in the international consumption ranking (14.45 litres of pure alcohol per capita per year), countries like France and Germany are almost in the same position (13.54 and 13.39, respectively) yet their reputation as drinkers is usually under-represented.¹³³ Socially, drunkenness in Ireland is ostensibly more tolerated than in other places in Europe and thus the notoriety of the Irish as heavy drinkers. In fact, Ireland “has the largest population of total abstainers in the European Union” (Elizabeth Malcolm, “Drink” in Connolly 1998: 156). The temperance and total abstinence movement created by Fr. Theobald Mathew in 1838 was a phenomenal success and had lasting effects in Irish social values.¹³⁴ Irish social life revolves around the pub, and drinking in public – both for men and women – is a natural and spontaneous way of relating with others. As in the case of other addictions, the patterns of violent drunkenness are in fact related to social structure rather than to ethnicity.

In Latin America, the cultural stereotyping of the Irish as drunkards is an adaptation of old clichés about English-speaking immigrants. The present-day *irlandés borracho* is the revised version of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century *inglés borracho*. Contemporary Irish residents in the region were aware of this problem, like the young woman writing from Buenos Aires who asked herself

¹³³ Interestingly, consumption in the Caribbean is closer to Europe. The first country in the region is Bermuda (12.92 litres), followed by Saint Lucia (10.45) and the Netherlands Antilles (9.94). The first alcohol consumer in Latin America is Venezuela (8.78), followed by Argentina (8.55) and Uruguay (6.96). Source: World Health Organization, *Global Status Report on Alcohol 2004* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2005).

¹³⁴ The Buenos Ayres Temperance Society was founded in 1833 by members of the Anglican and Methodist churches, generating significant public debate. Hundreds of letters supporting the Society or against it were received by the *British Packet* and *La Gaceta Mercantil*, including one from “A Rum Spirit” in which an empty bottled complained from an empty public house, or from “Fanny”, who claimed that it was not fair that the Society accepted only male members and proposed the formation of a “Buenos Ayres Foreign Ladies’ Moderation-in-dress-from-head-to-foot Society” (Hanon 2005: 39).

the reason [why] a great number of young men coming from Europe get lost here, they turn to drink and it is not from the natives they learn it, for it is scarcely ever seen in the respectable classes, among the poor guachos yes, but *Inglés borracho* which means drunken Englishman is a common saying here (Sally Moore to John James Pettit, 25 November 1867, emphasis added).

In an indulgent “Paddy Mad” mood, Thomas Murray described the itinerant teachers who in the second half of the nineteenth century wandered from one to another Irish home in the pampas, “undesirable citizens, failures at everything else they had tried. They were mostly men of poor or scarcely any education; deserters from English or American ships, outcasts from commercial or professional callings, because of their weakness for strong drinks [...] such were the camp schoolmasters” (Murray 1919: 283). This is obviously a hyperbolic depiction of rural teachers, though their affection to alcohol consumption was reported by many sources. “By the time he received his first month’s pay [...] he visited the nearest pulperia, or shebeen, [public house] and remained there for a couple of days; sometimes longer, oftentimes as long as his money lasted” (285). And describing a teacher with whom he was personally acquainted, Murray wrote that “he was very travelled man, a great bore when sober, a somewhat pleasant fellow with a little drink in, but utterly intolerable when he had taken over much of the ‘appetizer’, as he used to call his favourite beverage” (290).

The social impact of alcohol have been far from hilarious. John Murphy of Salto gives the account of a neighbour, “James Pender [who] died of a broken down constitution caused by drink, as is supposed. He leaves a family: a wife and five children, and badly provided for. Another Irishman from Westmeath threw himself into a well, and was drowned on the same day, all from grog” ¹³⁵ (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, June 1865). In an earlier letter he reassured his family in Ireland telling them that he “never saw an instance of murder or &c.

¹³⁵ Grog, a beverage made with spirit (originally rum) and water; the word has naval origins in Britain. Most likely, for the English-speakers of nineteenth-century South America grog may have been the general appellation of any alcoholic liquor.

without having been provoked and that in most cases caused through a drink and its effects” (20 June 1865).

Drinking was also an off-putting condition for anyone who wanted to integrate into the most important economic cycle of the Irish in the rural areas of South America, i.e. wool production. I have already mentioned how Tom Garrahan of Lobos enjoyed his reputation of being a “dry” person among the Irish. As for John Murphy, he boasted about employing “no men about me nor on the Caldera, but proper, well-conducted men that mind their own business and nobody else’s, and keep clear of those drunken brawls which too often occur between Irishmen in the villages and other public places” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 September 1866). A shepherd gave a very bad impression when he started working at the *estancia*:

About a fortnight after arriving here, some of the men had a bet of a bottle of grog on something & he that last came for the bottle but was refused as I not being at home. On the bottle being refused Furlong set off for one of the puestos (stations), got the horse from the man there which happened to be home what like himself went to a public house for grog, made the man drink & came home drunk & sick himself, & all this because of my Mrs. not giving ~~him~~ grog in my absence, though he was not the person that either lost or was refused it. So you see that was rather a bold beginning (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 August 1870).

Seemingly, it was a rule in Murphy’s establishment that the workers would not be allowed to drink when he was absent, suggesting that “the bottle” circulated generously when he was at home. This context would not have been ideal for those with a tendency to drink. Reporting on another recently-arrived immigrant, John Connor, Murphy found him “very different to what I expected, and [one] of the fondest men of grog I know. And when he get the chance will drink till he is much the worse of it. Since he came here I have shown him great indulgence on account of his many years in the family, and his age to boot” (John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 12 March 1876).

Local papers in Latin America echoed the reputation of *ingleses* as heavy drinkers. Reporting on the dangers of alcohol abuse by women, *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires “singled out the *inglés* group commenting that in their homeland ‘the number of intoxicated women is considerable.’ This was not a reference to the *inglés* in general. [...] Native Argentine impressions of *inglés borracho* whilst not excluding the Irish may also have included the English, Scottish, and Welsh communities. [...] This is also true of police and prison records pertaining to drink-related *inglés* offences” (Kelly 2007: 196).

An earlier immigrant, Edward Robbins, described the services after the death of his grandfather in Tullamore with words that today could be interpreted as an oxymoron, “a splendid funeral” (Robbins memoirs, 1827). The qualifying use of “splendid” for someone’s funeral may be curious today but at least up to the early nineteenth century, among a vast majority of Irish peasants, particularly in rural Ireland (but also in other European and non-European societies from early times), death rituals were an essential vehicle to socialise.

The wake, a well-planned mix of lamentations, merrymaking, dining, and drinking round the body of the dead person, could last for the whole night, and it was an event that everybody in the social circle of the dead person would attend. “Relatives, neighbours, and friends gathered to spend a night in drinking, singing, dancing, story-telling, and other amusements. [...] The custom can be interpreted as a means of honouring the dead person by a last feast in his or her honour. Alternatively it has been seen as an assertion of continuity and vitality in the face of mortality, a perspective which helps to explain the explicit sexual content of some of the rituals and games reported at Irish wakes. From at least the seventeenth century wakes were condemned by the Catholic church” (Connolly 1998: 582). Although in the Irish settlements in Latin America music and dance during the wake disappeared, the immigrants and their descendants continued waking their dead in approximately the same way, including

story-telling and sexual-oriented yarns. In spite that rural Irish Chaplains vigilantly controlled the custom, the tradition persisted well in to the twentieth century.¹³⁶

Conclusion

Chapter Seven has covered music and celebrations. An account of Irish music and musicians in Latin America illustrates the patchy identities of this immigration. Interpreters and composers with an Irish background contributed to the musical landscape in the region. Buenaventura Luna, descended from an Irish soldier in the British campaigns of the early nineteenth-century, played an important role in collecting and composing airs of the Cuyo central west area of Argentina. He also supported other musicians through his radio shows on South American folk music. Among tango singers, Carlos Viván “El irlandesito” (born Miguel Rice Treacy) and Blanca Mooney contributed with original pieces like “Moneda de cobre” and quality renditions that contributed to make tango an international export. In Cuba and the U.S., Arturo Chico O’Farrill has been one of the most important composers in the Latin-Jazz sub-genre.

A number of Irish ballads have been dedicated to Latin American themes, like the St. Patrick Battalion in Mexico and William Brown in Argentina. These songs are usually poorly composed and show a limited vision typical of the Irish nationalist self-restricted principles. These songs follow a tradition which has been more successful outside of Ireland, especially among the Irish in the United States.

From the 1870s, Irish ballads were composed and interpreted in South America. Some of them were published in local newspapers in the countryside of Buenos Aires. These ballads

¹³⁶ Being a child, the author of this thesis assisted to a number of wakes in Buenos Aires in which the children were not allowed to listen to the stories told by adult males in a state of intoxication.

are drinking songs to sing in dances and gatherings, or melancholic airs. The first group celebrate the free “wild” spaces of the pampas and its people (or rather its women). The later songs refer to the nostalgic feeling of homesickness. These songs were composed and sung with a masculine outlook and with values that considered women (Irish and especially Argentine) as objects of desire. Beside, they suggest an ethnic-centred attitude of a close-minded community.

While gatherings and dances were frequent among the Irish immigrants, the celebration of St. Patrick’s Day have been the most important day in the calendar. With a traditional meaning of socialising in the early nineteenth century, the Irish day gradually changed to religious festivity, and lately to massive drinking feats in pubs and the open air. In Montserrat, St. Patrick’s Day represents the different intentions of Irish plantation owners and their slaves, whose descendants commemorate a revolt in the eighteenth century.

The Irish celebration is intimately associated with alcohol drinking, which is less a material emblem for interactions than a socially accepted means of escape moral restrictions for men and women alike. British and Irish settlers in Latin America were seen by the local people as *inglés borracho*, though this appreciation was seldom a negative characterisation. While consumption habits followed those acquired in Ireland, demonstrating moderation and tempered control was important to be accepted by the landowning elite circles. On the other hand, customs like the Irish wake have been partially preserved by the immigrants, including its aspects of life celebration, drinking, and story-telling with sexual content.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LATIN AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF IRELAND AND THE IRISH

Introduction

A cultural history of the Irish in this region would not be complete without the Latin American views about Ireland and the Irish. Up to the period of the Irish independence these views were generally mixed up with those about the British and North Americans. Most people in Latin America and, at a lesser extent in the West Indies, regarded the Irish as *ingleses*. A few among them had travelled to Ireland and could get a first impression of the differences with other groups in the British Isles.

In the summer of 1877 the emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II, with his wife and the Countess of Barral paid a state visit to Ireland. The five-day visit was a break from their lengthy holidays in the United States. After their hurried stay in Cork, the local newspapers noted that “it is a sad reflection upon the dignity and importance of the capital of the South to be done by a South American Emperor in two hours and three-quarters” (*The Cork Examiner*, 11 July 1877 in O’Neill 2009). Dom Pedro visited just four places – the Queen’s College, the Lunatic Asylum, the Butter Exchange, and the statue of Father Mathew. “If the Emperor should be given to writing down his impressions after the manner of the intelligent foreigner described in [Charles Dickens’s novel] ‘Pickwick,’ he will doubtless make a note of Cork as a city which deals in butter, is averse to education, and greatly afflicted with lunacy, and on the whole the epitome will not be so far wrong” (*The Cork Examiner*, 11 July 1877).

Brazil was regarded in the same article as “a rich and prosperous land abounding in mighty rivers and immense forests”, and it represented for the Cork elites a potential business for their shipping and trade, as well as an alternate destination for potential emigrants who could

replace the slave force in Brazil. Hence, they wished to make a good impression on Dom Pedro and his entourage but they were baffled by his swiftness to visit the city's major landmarks. Their parochial pride was offended by his lack of careful attention. Was the emperor's behaviour widespread among Brazilians? On a regional level in Latin America, what are the most important attitudes towards Ireland? Do the people in the region have positive or negative perceptions of the Irish? Has Irish culture had any impact in the region's literature and the arts?

The former Mexican president Vicente Fox claimed that Ireland "is one of the most dynamic nations of present-day and future Europe" (*El Siglo de Torreón*, 11 October 2002). Some Mexicans believe that Fox is descended from one of the Irish soldiers of the Batallón San Patricio (which he has never denied). In fact, Fox's grandfather came from a German family Fuchs that immigrated in North America. His predecessor in the Mexican first post Ernesto Zedillo declared in a public ceremony: "In the name of the people of Mexico, I salute today the people of Ireland and express my eternal gratitude" (12 September 1997). After his term another Mexican president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, self-exiled in Ireland and lived there for a number of years. On the other hand, a challenging voice to the establishment, Subcomandante Marcos of the Zapatista rebels in Chiapas claimed that Mexicans

like the Irish around here. [...] When Mexico was fighting, in the last century, against the empire of the bars and crooked stars, there was a group of soldiers who fought on the side of the Mexicans and this group was called St. Patrick's Battalion. And so I am writing you in the name of all of my compañeros and compañeras, because just as with the Saint Patrick's Battalion, we now see clearly that there are foreigners who love Mexico more than some natives who are now in the government (*The Irish in Mexico: Chiapas and the Zapatistas*, available online, <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/img/stpat.html>, accessed 18 December 2009, translated from Carlos Monsiváis and Elena Poniatowska, *EZLN: documentos y comunicados*, vol. 2: 287).

Mexicans, Cubans, Chileans, Colombians, Brazilians have publicly demonstrated their liking of Ireland and the Irish. Celebrities, artists and politicians in the Americas endeavour to associate themselves with real or imaginary Irish families.¹³⁷ Contrasting with the generally-accepted bad reputation of the British as imperialist power in the history of Latin America and the Caribbean, the Irish are usually celebrated by many in the region for their rebellious behaviour, their assumed witty humour and culture, and (not least) in opposition to the English and, by extension, to U.S. Americans.

This good-will and other perceptions enjoyed by the Irish in the region were articulated by a number of intellectuals who wrote about Ireland and Irish culture. Among others, Domingo F. Sarmiento, Bartolomé Mitre, Eduardo Galeano, Carlos Fuentes, Derek Walcott, Mario Vargas Llosa, Jorge Luis Borges, and José Martí wrote about their attitudes towards Ireland. This chapter includes a commentary on a selection of texts from these writers, followed by a general appraisal of Latin American perceptions of Ireland and the Irish.

Sarmiento and Other Negative Assessments

When in 1883 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) published *Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América*, the Irish did not score very high in his preferred list of immigrants. “The Irish rabble organized by their priests... they are rabid drunkards” (*Obras completas*, Paris: Belin, 1909, 32:392).¹³⁸ Sarmiento claimed that the Irish did not care about and remained isolated from local political life, and in general refrained from taking part in the social events in their receiving countries.

¹³⁷ Politicians like Ricardo López Murphy in Argentina or the U.S. senator John F. Kerry see in their real or supposed Irish identity a value added in electoral terms. In the 2004 presidential campaign, Kerry did not deny the believed Irish origins of his grandfather, whose real name was Fritz Kohn and was born in Austria.

¹³⁸ “La chusma irlandesa organizada por los curas, que además son fanáticos y borrachos” (my translation).

From the post-colonial period onwards, a majority of the Irish immigrants have been traditionally closer to the British and other European residents than to *criollos*, Afro-Latin Americans, and indigenous peoples. In the pampas of Argentina and Uruguay, the Irish sheep farmers flew the Union Jack and sought protection from the British consul in order to avoid being drafted to serve in the army during the civil wars and later in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870). In the 1869 national census, hundreds of Argentine-born sons of the Irish immigrants declared that they were born in Ireland or England; the majority in that generation rarely spoke fluent Spanish. The number of naturalisations among Argentine- and Uruguayan-born children of the Irish was extremely low. However, their birth was registered in the British (later Irish) Consulate up to the third or even fourth generations. The self-segregating attitude of the Irish attracted the ire of Latin American leaders like Sarmiento, who considered that that behaviour towards their receiving society was rather ungrateful.

Influenced by the British business circles, Sarmiento denigrated the potential contribution of the Irish as immigrants in America. He claimed that the Irish “come from the most backward country [and are] the most ignorant and poor people in Europe”.¹³⁹ He added that they were not suitable for South America (*Condición del extranjero en América*, p. 208). “It is a blessing that very few Irish are coming to this place. If they were hundreds of thousands like in New York, we would have the same problems as they are experiencing there” (*Obras completas*, Vol. 36, p. 135).¹⁴⁰ Certainly, Sarmiento received the influence of an established discourse in the British Isles that considered the Irish as an inferior social group, while the English were admired for their alleged characteristics of “industry, discipline, organisation, fellowship, and punctuality.” He believed that “the Irish differed from the Scots who are very educated, with the English who gave formal education to one out every seven, today one out

¹³⁹ “[Los irlandeses] venían del país más primitivo [y eran] lo más atrasado é ignorante que llegaba de Europa”.

¹⁴⁰ “Es fortuna que sean pocos los irlandeses que se dirijen a estas playas, porque si fueran por centenares de miles como en Nueva York, tendríamos los mismos inconvenientes que se experimentan allí”.

of every five, meanwhile among the Irish only one out of forty could be able to read. [...] Coarse, ignorant, backward crowds” (135).¹⁴¹ He considered the English language “the very language of government, contrasted with Spanish, the language of the Inquisition” (cited in Jakubs 1985: 15).

About the Irish residents in Argentina, Sarmiento wrote that in that country “there is a nation called Ireland, to which belong the children of some poor Irish – now wealthy – who fled their home country about twenty years ago, when two million died of hunger; but today they forget that disaster and they barely allow us to breath in our own country” (*Condición del extranjero en América*, p. 161).¹⁴²

This attitude by the Argentine president did not go unnoticed by the local Irish residents. In 1883 Michael Dinneen published a negative review of *Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América*. In his view, Sarmiento was “a very dogmatic kind of man and as full of the well-known native ‘amor propio’ as any old man could be; he flew into a wild passion and abused and vilified the whole Irish race” (Murray 1919: 446). According to Thomas Murray, Sarmiento muddled up different Irish groups and institutions:

With him Tammany Hall, the famous New York political party organization, and the Catholic Church in that city were all one, and all Irish;¹⁴³ Father Fahey was a domineering boss who kept the Irish in ignorance under him, the Irish Nuns were not fit to be teachers of Argentines, and at home would be only servant girls, etc., etc. This outburst of the old Mason made something of an incident, for nearly all the papers took him up for the bitterness and injustice of this attack on so respected and deserving a portion of the community (446).

¹⁴¹ “Los irlandeses hacen contraste con los escoceses que son educadísimos, con los ingleses que educaban uno por siete habitantes, hoy uno por cinco, mientras que los irlandeses uno sabría leer por cada cuarenta. [...] Muchedumbres groseras, ignorantes, atrasadas”.

¹⁴² “Hay una nación llamada Irlanda aquí á que pertenecen los hijos de unos pobres irlandeses, ricos hoy, que huyeron de su patria hace veinte años, en aquella época en que perecieron de hambre dos millones; pero que olvidados hoy de tales calamidades, apenas nos permiten respiraV en nuestro país”.

¹⁴³ Tammany Hall, a powerful political group of the New York City Democratic Partty that dominated local affairs from 1854 to 1934.

Murray wrote that there were numerous letters and articles in the press replying to Sarmiento, since “the old man was only living on a worn out fame, and was like a fallen lamp-post whose light was out and which was itself only an obstacle on the way” (446).

Apart from their apparent lack of commitment with the local society and politics, a reason why Sarmiento had a negative view of the Irish was their supposedly blind obedience of the Catholic priests. This should be interpreted within the context of the dispute between the government and the hierarchy in many Latin American countries, which included among other points in discussion the education of the youth. Sarmiento was a strong supporter of lay education and was at odds with the interference of the Catholic Church in public schools. The Irish institutions developed Catholic private education in the country, with numerous schools established for boys and girls in the countryside and in the cities. Even if Sarmiento’s views of the Irish were partial and isolated, they were shared by other groups of Latin American nationalist middle classes and intellectual elites.

Bartolomé Mitre (1821-1906), Argentine president in 1862-1868 was another creator of the major guiding fictions that contributed to build an Argentine identity. Mitre was a politician, officer, journalist, and historian. His most important contribution to Argentine history were the biographies of Manuel Belgrano and José de San Martín, which established them as the principal heroes of the independence from Spain and fathers of the country. Mitre was remotely connected to the Wertherton family of Ireland, and was a leading figure among the governing elites of Buenos Aires.

“The descendants of those clans” – wrote Mitre of the Irish with a political tone – “confirmed in the Christian faith by the teachings of the Celtic Paul, have come to our shores, and hung up their native harps to accompany the Melodies of their countryman, Thomas Moore, not as slaves who weep for their expatriation to the shores of the Babylonian river, but

as free men and voluntary exiles who have found a new country where labour is productive, and where their children are born and grow up under the aegis of hospitable institutions” (*Fianna*, July 1913: 157, cited in Brad Lange, “‘I am an Argentine’: Irish Catholics in Buenos Aires, 1906-1913” in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 7:1, March 2009, p. 55). Mitre noted the selfless sacrifice and contribution of Irishmen to Argentine development. He also defended the Irish-Argentine goal of having members of the community elected in the provincial chambers in the same letter: “By the popular vote, the native-born son of an Irishman, there to represent, as an Argentine, the interests of the Irish community and the two noble races [Irish and Argentine] destined to ‘increase and multiply’ under the auspices of Liberty, Labor, and Prosperity” (56).

In a private context, Mitre reserved his opinions of the Irish to lower qualifications. In a letter to the Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana about Thomas Hutchinson books, Mitre affirmed that the Irish were not prepared for the intellectual work. He observed that the Irish authors write “with neither order nor scientific method. Hutchinson is a character with a passion for travelling, and for travel writing. [...] According to Captain Burton, the famous explorer of Central Africa, his [Hutchinson’s] books have not been too widely accepted in England. [...] In spite of my high opinion of Hutchinson as a person, my gratefulness for his consideration, and my respect for his untiring industriousness, I must say that his books, even if they do include some helpful information, do not broach any particular idea nor do they have any durable character. Without a doubt, his best work is an English-language statistical and trade newspaper that he published here” (Bartolomé Mitre to Diego Barros Arana, 20 October 1875, cited in Payró 1906: 197).

Being Bartolomé Mitre a founding father of modern Argentina, his opinions of the Irish reveal the ambiguous attitudes of the educated elites in Latin America towards their immigration.

Literate Voices of Today

The Uruguayan Eduardo Galeano was inspired by the mainstream notion of Ireland as a victim of a mighty neighbour. In 1986 Galeano honoured the memory of the St. Patrick Battalion, which “arrived with the invaders, but fought alongside the invaded. From the north to Molino del Rey, the Irish made theirs the fate, ill fate, of the Mexicans. Many died defending the Churubusco monastery without ammunition. The prisoners, their faces burned, rock to and fro on the gallows” (*Memoria del fuego*).¹⁴⁴

Sympathetic with Ireland, Galeano asked inconvenient questions commenting on Jonathan Swift’s *A modest proposal*. “Why has [Swift’s] cannibalism project shocked the readers if Ireland was a country eaten by England and nobody cared? Did the Irish died of hunger owing to the weather or to colonial suffocation? Why he [Swift] was a free man when he was in England, but became a slave when in Ireland? Why the Irish did not refuse to purchase English textiles and furniture and why did they not learn to love their homeland? Why didn’t they burn everything coming from England, except the people?” (*Espejos: una historia casi universal*, 146).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ “El batallón irlandés Saint Patrick llegó con los invasores, pero peleó junto a los invadidos. Desde el norte hasta Molino del Rey, los irlandeses hicieron suya la suerte, la mala suerte, de los mexicanos. Muchos cayeron defendiendo, sin municiones, el convento de Churubusco. Los prisioneros se balancean, quemadas las caras, en el patíbulo” (my translation).

¹⁴⁵ “¿Por qué no provocaba horror su proyecto de canibalismo si Irlanda era un país comido por Inglaterra y a nadie se le movía un pelo? ¿Los irlandeses morían de hambre por culpa del clima o por la asfixia colonial? ¿Por qué él era un hombre libre cuando estaba en Inglaterra y se convertía en esclavo no bien pisaba Irlanda? ¿Por qué los irlandeses no se negaban a comprar ropas inglesas y muebles ingleses y aprendían a amar a su patria? ¿Por qué no quemaban todo lo que viniera de Inglaterra, excepto la gente?” (my translation).

The celebrated Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes finds a compelling connection between theatre and the Irish. In his play *Orquídeas a la luz de la luna. Una comedia mexicana*, the perception of the social stand of the Irish in Mexico is explicit in Dolores's words: "And he [my son] went off and married Señorita O'Higgins, if you please, Baby O'Higgins, a Puebla girl, descended from the Irish, related to generals and presidents. [...] Watching my son get married to a Puebla girl descended from the Irish ... MARIA (*with an eyebrow raised high*) – Ah the Irish ... Do you know why Jesus wasn't born in Ireland? (*Pause*) Because they couldn't find three wise men and a virgin." (*Orchids in the Moonlight*, translated and edited by Sebastian Doggart, *Latin American Plays*, 1996, p. 127).

In Fuentes's story *El amante del teatro*, Lorenzo O'Shea is a Mexican living in London and working as a digital video editor. O'Shea is a misanthropist and does not feel strange among the British, who

are not particularly open to the foreigners. [...] I protect myself with my Irish name – O'Shea – and I have to explain that there are many Gaelic names in Latin America. We have plenty of O'Higgins, O'Farrils, O'Reillys and Fogartys. Sure, I cheat the British islanders by pretending to be one of their neighbour islanders, an Irish. No, it is disgusting to be a renegade Mexican. I wish to be accepted as I am and for what I am. Lorenzo O'Shea, who for ease and professional reasons became Larry O'Shea, Mexican descended from nineteenth century Anglo-Irish immigrants in America (*Inquieta compañía*, 2004, p. 3).¹⁴⁶

Lorenzo O'Shea, who in the story falls in love with a ghost woman, conveys the conflict implicit in his dual Mexican and Irish identity, which prevents him to establish a normal relation with the British (or at least with a "normal" British woman). He hopes to be accepted by presenting himself as Irish and concealing his Latin American origin. But he does not feel

¹⁴⁶ "Los británicos no son particularmente abiertos al extranjero. [...] Yo me defiendo con mi apellido irlandés – O'Shea – hasta que me obligan a explicar que hay mucho nombre gaélico en Hispanoamérica. Estamos llenos de O'Higgins, O'Farrils, O'Reillys y Fogartys. Ciertamente, pude engañar a los isleños británicos haciéndome pasar por isleño vecino – irlandés –. No. Ser mexicano y renegado es repugnante. Quiero ser aceptado como soy y por lo que soy. Lorenzo O'Shea, convertido por razones de facilidad laboral y familiaridad oficinesca en Larry O'Shea, mexicano descendiente de anglo-irlandeses emigrados a América desde el siglo XIX" (my translation).

at ease with this attitude, and would like to act more naturally. The social position of the Irish in Britain, who were traditionally considered as an inferior ethnic group, is ignored by the narrator while his Irish roots (“Anglo-Irish” probably meaning English-speaking Irish) are valued in the Mexican context.

The Nobel laureate Derek Walcott of St. Lucia is one of the most prestigious representatives of the English-speaking Caribbean literature. His plays and poetry collections have been appraised as a unique amalgam of classicism, magic realism, and legends of the West Indies. Walcott studied in Jamaica and established in Trinidad, where he founded the Trinidad Theatre Workshop.

Walcott’s connection with Ireland comes from his early studies in St. Lucia

when the Irish brothers came to teach at the college in St. Lucia, ¹⁴⁷ I had been reading a lot of Irish literature: I read Joyce, naturally I knew Yeats, and so on. I’ve always felt some kind of intimacy with the Irish poets because one realized that they were also colonials with the same kind of problems that existed in the Caribbean. They were the niggers of Britain. Now, with all of that, to have those astounding achievements of genius, whether by Joyce or Yeats or Beckett, illustrated that one could come of a depressed, deprived, oppressed situation and be defiant and creative at the same time (Baer 1996: 59).

Speaking about James Joyce, Walcott found “amazing [that] Joyce could say that he wants to write for his race, meaning the Irish. You’d think that Joyce would have a larger, more continental kind of mind, but Joyce continued insisting on his provinciality at the same time he had the most universal mind since Shakespeare” (105). Within the context of Latin American literary criticism, this is an interesting remark because it is at the heart of the debate between the nativist (nationalist or indigenist) current and the Euro- or North American-centred standpoint.

¹⁴⁷ The Presentation Brothers, founded by Edmund Rice (who also founded the Christian Brothers), established in St. Lucia in 1946. They are present in St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, and Peru.

The Irish as Inspiration

The Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa has always been fascinated by Irish literature. More recently, he has been impacted by the conflicting identities in the life of the Irish patriot Roger Casement, his “difficult transformation of a pro-British Irishman into a nationalist, his rejection of empire and of colonialism” (Mitchell, Angus, “An Interview with Mario Vargas Llosa” in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America*, 7:2, July 2009, 138).

Casement was the son of a Belfast Protestant officer. Serving as a British consul in Congo and Peru, he became famous for his reports on human rights violations by Belgium and British-Peruvian companies in the rubber industry. In 1911, Casement was knighted by George V. However, he was involved in Irish nationalism and helped to form and fund the Irish Volunteers. In 1916, he was arrested and charged of treason against the British for his organisation of an arms transport from Germany to support the Easter Rising in Ireland. Casement was hanged at fifty-one, and converted to Catholicism while waiting for execution. His homosexuality has been ostensibly used to weaken support on his defence. The debate on the authenticity of his diaries (the “Black Diaries”) and a possible forgery by British Intelligence continues up to today.

In spite of Casement efforts in Africa, Vargas Llosa believes that “slavery is still a very vivid institution in Congo. [...] What he described and what he saw in the Congo is still very present”, while in Peru the people “didn’t know the kind of exploitation, brutality, atrocities which were committed by the caucho people in the Putumayo region. Now they were very ignorant about that, so the scandal was at least very educational and instructive for the majority of the country” (139).

Vargas Llosa's plans to publish a historical novel about Roger Casement have been recently divulged and received much space in the media. He was attracted by the Irish nationalist's life and personality, in which

nuances are absolutely essential [...], nuances and contradictions, and in this sense I think he is much more human than the usual heroes. Heroes in history or heroes in literature, in general, are of a piece. But in Roger Casement there are so many nuances in all the periods of his life, or in the roles that he played in his life, that what is really the human condition of a hero is always present in his case. In other cases, because of the stereotypes, the hero becomes so attached to the idea of a hero that he is dehumanised. He's never been dehumanised, he's always at the level of humanity, even when he accomplished the most extraordinary achievements. [...] Another fascinating aspect is that, in spite of everything that historians have discovered about him, there is also a large measure of mystery (140).

The Peruvian author explains that he is not writing "a book of history which is disguised as a novel, not at all. I want to write a novel and so I'm going to use my imagination, my fantasy, much more than historical material, as I did with *La Guerra del Fin del Mundo*, as I did with the book on Trujillo [*The Feast of the Goat*], as I did in the book about the dictatorship of President Odría of Peru in *Conversations in the Cathedral*. I love history but I am a novelist" (140).

As a novelist, Vargas Llosa enriches fiction with a plentiful and productive personal experience, in which his own ideological evolution is a source of imagination. "I believe in the unity of the human kind, I think literature is the best demonstration of the universal experiences that can be understood and shared among people of very different extractions, very different identities" (142). Perhaps Vargas Llosa's fascination with Casement is awakened by his own political contradictions throughout public life. Like so many Latin American authors he has been politically very active, but his ideological focus has been moving from active socialism following the Cuban revolution to a liberal stance and resolute advocacy of neoliberal reforms. Vargas Llosa has always opposed any kind of totalitarian and

authoritarian regime, and that is the reason why he was attracted to the Irish nationalist developments in the 1920s as an example of standing against the powerful colonialist rule.

The Irish as a Source of Post-Colonial Discourse

It is not hard to find Irish references in the extensive list of books and articles by the Argentine prolific author Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986). Borges's vast work has been considered a universal construction in time and space; multiple world cultures and periods are represented either directly or in references. Indeed, his vision was not global in the current sense of the word, but the unique result of historical circumstances in Latin America and a deep-seated European (particularly, British) influence which gives his fictional world the flavour of universal reach.

One of the latest works by Borges, *Atlas* (1984), was a coffee-table type collection of poems inspired by his many trips around the world. In a piece dedicated to Ireland, his definition of Irish values is ambiguous and ironic. To him, "Ireland is a land of essentially kind and naturally Christian people carried away by the curious passion of being incessantly Irish" (*Obras Completas* 3: 408).¹⁴⁸ In this statement one can identify what in Borges's thinking and writing is a *curiosa pasión*, the nationalist ethos observed by Borges among the Irish, which in many texts he disapproved of any society (in particular regarding cultural and literary nationalisms). There are also two positive values that he noticed in the Irish people. "Kind" is the commonly recognised kindness of most Irish people, especially towards foreigners visiting Ireland. This notion is shared by other Latin American authors and sources. Being "naturally Christian" is a supposedly innate or biological inclination to Christianity among the Irish (which Borges politically avoids to distinguish between Catholic and

¹⁴⁸ "Para mí Irlanda es un país de gente esencialmente buena, naturalmente cristiana, arrebatados por la curiosa pasión de ser incesantemente irlandeses" (my translation).

Protestant). This idea connects with Tertullian's fallacy *anima naturaliter christiana* (*Apologeticus*, 17), which implied that heathen Gentiles were not human (certainly, a notion included in Jewish tradition).

Borges allegedly visited Ireland in 1920, 1963, and 1971. He may have also been in Dublin during the Easter Rising of 1916 and occasionally during academic visits. However, most of his impressions of the Irish were received through his readings. It is the French philosopher Ernest Renan (1823-1892) who "applying the famous sentence by Tertullian, wrote that the Celtic soul is naturally Christian" (J. L. Borges, *El concepto de una academia y los celtas*, inaugural discourse at the Argentine Literature Academy in 1962, in *Textos recuperados 1956-1986*, Buenos Aires 2004, 3:91). It was this presumably natural Christianity that allowed the Irish monks in the Middle Ages to treasure Latin and Greek manuscripts. "Among the ancient Celts, druids were organised in six orders, being the bards the first one and the soothsayers the third. Centuries later, this theocratic hierarchy would be the remote, but not forgotten, model for academies in Ireland. [...] If the concept of academia is based on the organisation and control of literature, there is no other country in world history – not even France or China – more academic than Ireland" (92). And he went further in the duties of literature students:

Literary studies required more than twelve years of strict discipline, including mythology, legendary history, topography and law, and of course grammar and the diverse branches of rhetoric. Teaching was oral, like in any esoteric subject; there were no written texts and students had to load their memory with the whole corpus of the previous literature. The annual examination lasted for many days. Confined to a dark cell and provided for with food and water, the student had to versify and learn by heart certain genealogical and mythological topics in predetermined meters. [...] One could say that so much vigilance and rigidity would finally drown the poetic impetus; the incredible truth is that Irish poetry is prodigal in freshness and awe (95).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ "Los druidas estaban divididos en seis clases, la primera de las cuales era la de los bardos, y la tercera, la de los vates. Siglos después, esta jerarquía teocrática sería el remoto pero no olvidado modelo de las academias de

For Borges, the apparently incompatible aspects of traditional Irish poetry – discipline and innovation – are present in the culture of the Irish people, and they form the basis by which the Irish and other societies were able to detach from the mainstream discourses and create their own.

Paraphrasing Declan Kiberd's mentioned text, for an oppressed people the liberation does not start with revolution or even independence, but in the very moment they conceive the coloniser as someone to whom they do not owe anything. For Irish writers such as George Berkeley, George Bernard Shaw or Jonathan Swift – even if they were Anglo-Irish – “it was enough to consider themselves Irish to feel different in order to innovate in English culture” (“El escritor argentino y la tradición”, in *Discusión* (1932), *Obras Completas*, 1:273).¹⁵⁰ They had no obligations with the English tradition, so they were able to change it. Jewish, Irish, and Argentine writers are, in Borges's view, free to reject Western culture.

Borges's Irish characters display a paradoxical world of contradictions. “I tried to ingratiate myself with El Inglés; [...] He agreed but added with a smile that he was not English. He was Irish, from Dungarvan” (“La forma de la espada”, in *Ficciones* (1944), *Obras Completas*, 1: 491).¹⁵¹ Being Irish and bearing the nickname *El Inglés* is not an uncommon paradox, but it illustrates the complexities of Irish identities. I cited in Chapter Seven the nineteenth-century expression *inglés borracho* – which became *irlandés borracho*

Irlanda. [...] Si el concepto de academia reside en la organización y dirección de la literatura, no se descubrirá en la historia país más académico, ni siquiera Francia o la China. [...] La carrera literaria exigía más de doce años de severos estudios, que abarcaban la mitología, la historia legendaria, la topografía y el derecho. A tales disciplinas debemos agregar, evidentemente, la gramática y las diversas ramas de la retórica. La enseñanza era oral, como corresponde a toda materia esotérica; no había textos escritos y el estudiante debía cargar su memoria con todo el corpus de la literatura anterior. El examen anual duraba muchos días el estudiante, recluido en una celda oscura y provisto de alimentos y de agua, tenía que versificar y memorizar determinados temas genealógicos y mitológicos en determinados metros. [...] Diríase que tanta vigilancia y tanto rigor acabarían por ahogar el impulso poético; la increíble verdad es que la poesía irlandesa es pródiga de frescura y de maravilla” (my translation).

¹⁵⁰ “Les bastó el hecho de sentirse irlandeses, distintos, para innovar en la cultura inglesa” (my translation).

¹⁵¹ “Procuré congraciarme con el Inglés [...]. Mi interlocutor asintió, pero agregó con una sonrisa que él no era inglés. Era irlandés, de Dungarvan” (my translation).

– as an extended attitude among local societies in Latin America. Its connotations of vice and immoral customs were compensated by the positive aspects associated with the English, i.e., honesty, hardworking habits, democratic and republican values, and general encouragement of technology, discipline, progress and “civilisation” (as opposed to “barbarian” societies). These aspects were labelled in Latin America with another expressions, *palabra de inglés*, which conveys the idea of integrity,¹⁵² and *hora inglesa*, referring to punctuality.¹⁵³ Another expression, *ingleses locos* (cited in Chapter Four) that was en vogue among Latin Americans, pointed to drinking and athletic activities as a complement to sober and hardworking habits.

Borges’s story “La forma de la espada” ends with a revelation. The supposed Irish rebel, *El Inglés*, one of the conspirators for Irish independence in 1922 was in fact the traitor, John Vincent Moon, who betrayed his comrade and run away to Brazil. Loyalty and betrayal are essential parts of the Irish-English opposition conceived in the Irish ethos.

Another story by Jorge L. Borges, “Tema del traidor y del héroe” echoes the topic of betrayal.

The action takes place in an oppressed and obstinate country: Poland, Ireland, the republic of Venetia, some South American or Balkan state. [...] Let us say (for the sake of narrative convenience) Ireland; let us say 1824. The narrator’s name is Ryan; he is a great-grandson of the young, the heroic, the handsome, the murdered Fergus Kilpatrick. [...] Ryan is engaged in writing a biography of the hero. He finds that the enigma exceeds the police investigation. [...] These parallelisms between the story of Caesar and the story of an Irish conspirator lead Ryan to presume the existence of a secret time, a pattern or repeated lines. [...] James Alexander Nolan, the oldest of the hero’s friends [...] was charged with finding out who was the traitor. Nolan carried out his assignment. He announced during the same meeting that the traitor

¹⁵² Emily Murphy wrote of his father: “When shopping had to be done, John would ride or drive in to the town of Salto and shop for my mother and their neighbours [...]. If he spent more money than he had taken with him, he would say to the criollo shopman, ‘I will sign for these things’, the criollo would answer ‘no necesitamos su firma Don Juan, basta con la palabra del Inglés’ [no need for your signature, Don Juan, it’s enough with the word of the English]. He was very proud of that” (Murphy 1909: 2).

¹⁵³ “It is not the world of an Englishman, *palabra de inglés*, an oath in itself? Is it not the expression *hora inglesa* an appeal to punctuality?” (Koebel 1917: 528).

was Kilpatrick himself. [...] A long-desired bullet got into the breast of the traitor and hero ("Tema del traidor y del héroe" in *Ficciones*, 1944, *Obras Completas*, 1:496).¹⁵⁴

In Borgesian terms, treason and loyalty illustrate the contradictory and challenging cultures in Ireland and Latin America. The Irish were able to build their identity thanks to their innovation of the Other, i.e., the English world in relation to the Irish. Borges went beyond the sympathetic clichés of the Irish as rebels against a dominant power, and identified some of the essential characteristics of their culture.

José Martí and the Irish in the Americas

In the period before Irish independence, for the vast majority of intellectuals throughout Latin America the knowledge of Ireland has been limited to their readings. Books and newspapers were the principal source, with sporadic contacts that enriched their understanding about Ireland and Irish culture. A few among them were acquainted with Irish passing travellers, immigrants or remote relations, and sometimes went themselves to the far-away island. However, for most of Latin Americans knowledge of Ireland has been conveyed through British cultural agents and media.

For the Cuban patriot José Martí (1853-1895), Irish experience has been enriched with the direct exposure to the realities of massive immigration from Ireland to, and settlement in, the

¹⁵⁴ "La acción transcurre en un país oprimido y tenaz: Polonia, Irlanda, la república de Venecia, algún estado sudamericano o balcánico. [...] Digamos (para comodidad narrativa) Irlanda; digamos 1824. El narrador se llama Ryan; es bisnieto del joven, del heroico, del bello, del asesinado Fergus Kilpatrick. [...] Ryan, dedicado a la redacción de una biografía del héroe, descubre que el enigma rebasa lo puramente policial. [...] Estos paralelismos (y otros) de la historia del César y de la historia de un conspirador irlandés inducen a Ryan a suponer una secreta forma del tiempo, un dibujo de líneas que se repiten. [...] A James Alexander Nolan, el más antiguo de los compañeros del héroe [se le había] encomendado el descubrimiento de este traidor. Nolan ejecutó su tarea: anunció en pleno cónclave que el traidor era el mismo Kilpatrick. [...] Un balazo anhelado entró en el pecho del traidor y del héroe" (my translation).

United States and the Americas. Martí lived fourteen crucial years of his brief and eventful life in the U.S., transitorily in 1880 and from 1882 to the year of his death in 1895.

In the period 1820-1860 the Irish represented one third of all immigrants in the U.S. By 1840 they were about half of all immigrants. Irish immigration continued in a steady flow, in particular in the most populated North American cities where Irish quarters were established. By the time José Martí resided in New York City, the Irish dominated municipal politics and were gaining social power and moving from the slums to suburbia and to the ranks of bourgeois respectability.

José Martí – “el hombre más puro de la raza” according to Gabriela Mistral – best epitomises the Latin American writer. Three of the major marks of his work are shared by many others: (i) literature is ancillary to political and social activism – frequently including revolutionary fighting – and other endeavours like journalistic and teaching activities; (ii) nationalism is preceded and conditioned by a regional vision of Latin America, *nuestra América*; and (iii) the region is conceived as emerging from colonialism (in relation to Britain, France, Spain and other powers), and opposing the expansionism of imperialist powers of the United States of America. These characteristics identify Latin American cultural production as different from other regions.

Certainly, the first contact José Martí had with the Irish was in his own birthplace, Havana. The Irish in Cuba were a small and fragmented group, and their traditions and customs identified less with Ireland than with other places where they or their ancestors lived during lengthy periods. Among them, a number of Spanish families with remote Irish origin were established in Cuba since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They descended from Gaelic nobles (real or self-styled) and their supporters who fled Ireland from 1607 – the “Flight of the Earls” – and up to late seventeenth century, and settled in Spain and other

Catholic kingdoms of continental Europe. Some of them or their families went to the Spanish colonies in the Americas as soldiers, priests, merchants or in other situations. Duany, Garvey, O'Reilly, O'Connor, Hogan, Madan, O'Naghten, Tirry, Kindelán, O'Donnell and O'Ryan were and still are Cuban families who can trace their origin to Spain and remotely to Ireland. A second source of Irish settlers in Cuba has been the migration from other Caribbean locations, especially from British and French dominions. The well-known O'Farrill family of slave traders and plantation owners came from Montserrat, and the O'Bourke clan of Cienfuegos originated in the island of Trinidad. But most of the Irish in nineteenth-century Cuba came from North America, including the workers recruited in New York to build the railway Havana to Güines and colonists in the Moa River and Cienfuegos. As in many places of Latin America, the very few Irish-born people living in Cuba by the second half of the nineteenth century were considered *ingleses*.

It was only in his adult life that Martí recorded by the presence of Irish people, and this occurred in New York. In 1881, he started describing the Irish of New York and their relations with other immigrant groups. "The Irish and the Italians do not like each other, nor do the German and the Irish. The Irish do not like to go to the countryside, where wealth is easier and purer, and the character is fortified and dignified. They prefer to stay in the city, in fouled rooms, or in old wooden slums on the top of rocks, employed in filthy services; or if they have more spirits and are intelligent young men, they aspire to a police job obtained for them by an established family relation, or as a doorman or something similar" ("Zig-zags Neoyorquinos" in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 18 December 1881, *Obras Completas* 10: 111).

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¹⁵⁵ "Los irlandeses y los italianos no se quieren bien: ni alemanes e irlandeses. Los de Irlanda no gustan de ir al campo, donde la riqueza es más fácil y pura, y el carácter se fortifica y ennoblece; sino de quedarse en la ciudad, en cuartos infectos, o en chozas de madera vieja encaramadas en la cumbre de las rocas, empleados en servicios ruines, o aspirando, cuando tienen más meollo, a que el pariente avecindado les saque un puesto de policía, si son mozos esbeltos, o de conserje o cosa tal" (my translation).

In his New York period the Irish were for Martí an object of study and observation. He learned to recognise them through their activities and customs, as well as meeting some of their leaders. The multiplicity of Irish identities bewildered Martí. “In the first days of the year arrived in New York aboard one of those sumptuous steamers that are like royal palaces on the sea, a young, well-built man, with his energetic countenance, abundant brown hair [...]. His eyes are blue, like the sky he loves, and he wears a blue tie without noticing that it is not the right colour for ties as it is for the eyes. These are times for black tie. This smooth-faced young man, whose vigorously prominent jawbone is a sign of willpower, is Oscar Wilde, the young poet from England, the scorned and praised apostle of aestheticism. [...] Here it is, in light and shadows, the aesthetic movement” (*La Opinión Nacional*, Caracas, 7 January 1882, *Obras Completas*, 9: 221).¹⁵⁶ It is noticeable in Martí as well as in most writers of his time the taxonomy of people by ethnic origins, as well as the psychological and moral characteristics assigned to each group. Being Oscar Wilde “from England”, he is portrayed as a rebel in search of higher ideals for the human being than the common materialistic life in England. Oscar Wilde, according to Martí “wants to innovate in England [...], and he wants to find the secret of life” (223).¹⁵⁷

Then Martí engages in a comparison of the different immigrants arriving in New York from Europe. “From Ireland arrived this year less immigrants than before, as the Irish now hope to have a homeland” (*La Opinión Nacional*, Caracas, 21 January 1882, *Obras Completas*, 9:224), indeed in reference to the North American echoes of the Irish patriot

¹⁵⁶ “Con los primeros días del año, llegó a Nueva York, a bordo de uno de esos vapores babilónicos, que parecen casas reales sobre el mar, un hombre joven y fornido, de elegante postura, de enérgico rostro, de abundante cabello castaño. [...] Tiene los ojos azules, como dando idea del cielo que ama, y lleva corbata azul, y sin ver que no está bien en las corbatas el color que está bien en los ojos. Son nuestros tiempos de corbata negra. Este joven lampiño, cuyo maxilar inferior, en señal de fuerza de voluntad, sobresale vigorosamente, es Oscar Wilde, el poeta joven de Inglaterra, el burlado y loado apóstol del estetismo. [...] Ahí está, en luz y sombra el movimiento estético” (my translation).

¹⁵⁷ “Quiere renovar en Inglaterra. [...] Y dice que quiere hallar el secreto de la vida” (my translation).

Charles Stewart Parnell's struggle leading the National League in Ireland. Martí followed this text with a description of the Irish arriving in New York and their skills and capabilities.

There is no hard job Irishmen undertake without a good disposition, and there is no domestic servant woman who is not Irish. And there is no way to wander through the streets without running into those men of rough and bonny face, short and steep nose, small and malignant eyes, solid jawbones, shaven and blubber-lipped, and with a wicked chin that encircles their face like a halo. They are the immigrants from Ireland. They crowd the mines of California and the factories of New York. They brew the beer and they drink it. The Yanks profit from their tenacity and industry, and they scorn them. And really, there is no more comical party than St. Patrick's Day, the patron saint of Ireland, when the Irish parade through the streets of New York. That day they walk in the city on a packed parade, dressed up with their best garments taken from the luxury chest, like old-fashioned tall hats, or bulky frock coats with untamed creases revealing the excessive attention put by their owners. That day they flaunt their national colours, a green sash on the waistcoat over the proud chest. Chubby-cheeked brewers ride like generals on borrowed steeds, wearing feathered hats (225).¹⁵⁸

The "comical" countenance of the Irish parading in St. Patrick's Day amuses the writer, who may have been tempted to join contemporary New Yorkers in mocking them. However, Martí recognises another aspect – critical in his own struggle for Cuban independence – that is the loyalty of the Irish in the U.S. to their homeland, and their material support of Parnell's and others' fight to return farming land to the Irish.

It is also true that in oppressed Ireland their brave leaders lay in the Kilmainham gaol for trying to seize lands from voracious English landlords who abuse from their property. These lands the leaders wish to return to the poor natives at a fair price so

¹⁵⁸ "No hay trabajo recio ni mezquino que no hagan con buena voluntad los hombres de Irlanda, ni sirvienta que no sea irlandesa. Ni hay modo de ir por las calles sin dar con esos hombres de rostro áspero y huesoso, nariz corta y empinada, ojos malignos y breves, maxilares gruesos, labios belfudos y afeitados, y barbilla ruin que les cerca, como un halo, el rostro. Son inmigrantes de Irlanda. Llenan las minas de California, llenan las fábricas de Nueva York. Ellos elaboran la cerveza y ellos la beben. De su tenacidad e industria se aprovechan los yanquis, que los mofan, y en verdad no hay fiesta que sea más de reír que un día de San Patricio, patrón de Irlanda, en que enfilan en las calles de Nueva York los irlandeses, que andan ese día la ciudad en procesión copiosa, acicalados con las mejores prendas de su baúl de lujo, que son sombreros altos de olvidadas modas, o levitas gruesas que van diciendo en sus indómitas arrugas el excesivo cuidado con que las ven sus dueños: que ostentan en ese día los colores patrios, en una banda verde, que les cruza sobre el chaleco de grandes ramazones el orgulloso pecho. Y en prestados corceles hacen de generales, con sombreros plumados, mofletudos cervecedores" (my translation).

they can till them. These Patricks and Jameses do not forget their people in disgrace and lay aside large sums from their revenues and salaries to help maintain alive in Ireland the wise pacific rebellion organised by their leaders (225-226).¹⁵⁹

As he wrote the closing sentence, “They have coarse hands and gentle spirits! I shake with joy all callused hands”, Martí may have had an insight of his future *Versos sencillos* (1891):

*Cultivo una rosa blanca
En julio como en enero,
Para el amigo sincero
Que me da su mano franca.
Y para el cruel que me arranca
El corazón con que vivo,
Cardo ni ortiga cultivo,
Cultivo una rosa blanca.*¹⁶⁰

Moreover, José Martí replicates the clichés about the Irish. Speaking about their beliefs he argues that “in Ireland they believe rather weird things, and they still put a coin between the gritted teeth of the death so they can pay to the ferryman Charon for their crossing of the River Styx” (*La Opinión Nacional*, Caracas, 1882, *Obras Completas*, 9:294). He goes further in analogies of religious syncretism between Irish customs and the beliefs of Latin American indigenous peoples and African slaves.

Even if in Ireland the people are profoundly Catholic, they believe both in St. Ramón’s virtues and in the black waters of River Styx. At this juncture they are similar to the Oaxaca indians, who hide their sacred idol under the Virgin’s shawl and take it reverently during their processions. And to the negroes of the Caribbean

¹⁵⁹ “Mas es también verdad que cuando yacen en la cárcel de Kilmainham, en la oprimida Irlanda, los bravos caudillos que intentan arrebatar a los voraces propietarios ingleses las tierras de cuyo señorío culpablemente abusan para que las gocen en su precio justo, los infelices nativos, estos Patricios y estos Jaimes no vuelven los ojos de su viejo pueblo en desventura, y apartan de sus haberes y salarios grandes sumas que ayudan a mantener viva en Irlanda la sabia rebelión pacífica que organizaron los caudillos presos. ¡Suelen los hombres tener manos rudas y espíritus blandos! Yo estrecho con gozo toda mano callosa” (my translation).

¹⁶⁰ I grow a white rose / In July just as in January / For the sincere friend / Who gives me his frank hand. / And for the cruel man who pulls out of me / the heart with which I live, / I grow neither nettles nor thorns: / I grow a white rose (translation by Seymour Resnick, *Spanish-American Poetry: A Dual-language Anthology*, 1996).

in Honduras,¹⁶¹ fine-looking and clever negroes, who made a deal with the local priests so as to allow the celebration of their enigmatic muffin dance and barbarous African parties, while they had to obey, and supply candles and tributes for the church. And they are also like the indians in the Altos of Guatemala, who offer their newborn baby to Mother Nature on the top of a mountain (294).¹⁶²

According to Marilyn G. Miller, “Martí’s ideas on race [...] should be understood, at least in part, as a reaction to official and unofficial racial discourse in the United States” (Miller 2004: 12). In the process of shaping Latin American identities undertaken by Martí as his own intellectual endeavour, the most important aspects of the North American *other* are its imperialist ambitions and Yankee racism. In Cuba and in Latin America “there is no fear of a racial war. Men are more important than being white, mulatto or Negro [...] there can be no racial animosity because there are no races” (*José Martí Reader*, cited in Miller 2004: 12). Martí’s thinking is framed by the racial-centred paradigms of his time. “The German is polite, respectful, strong and industrious. The Irish is indolent, frail, and quarrelsome. In Ireland there are two races, one with black hair, aquiline nose, thick beard and transparent and heroic soul; the other is red-haired, with a wind-headed little nose, a big mouth with dog lips, and a mistrustful, stubborn, and vain petty village soul” (*La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 7 January 1885, *Obras Completas*, 10: 116).¹⁶³

The religious positions of the Irish were examined by Martí, who considered their church leaders as “greedy priests who came from Rome, polluted by an innocuous lavishness, with

¹⁶¹ Most likely, the Garífuna of Central America.

¹⁶² “Aunque son los de Irlanda muy católicos, y creen a la par en las virtudes de San Ramón y en el agua negra de la Estigia, en lo que se parecen a los indios de Oaxaca, que esconden bajo el manto de la Virgen el ídolo que veneran, y lo pasean reverentemente en sus procesiones; y a los negros caribes de Honduras, muy bellos e inteligentes negros, que han hecho comercio con los sacerdotes del lugar, los cuales les permiten su muffin, que es baile misterioso, y sus fiestas bárbaras de Africa, a trueque de que acaten su señoría, y lleven velas y tributos a la iglesia; y a los indios de los Altos en Guatemala, que antes van a ofrecer el recién nacido, en la cima de un monte, a la naturaleza” (my translation).

¹⁶³ “El hijo del alemán es culto, respetuoso, fuerte y dado a su trabajo. El del irlandés es perezoso, enteco y pependenciero. A bien que en Irlanda hay dos razas: In una de pelo negro, nariz aguileña, barba poblada y alma clara y heroica; la otra de pelo rojo, naricilla al viento, boca máxima de labios caninos, y almilla de aldehuela, desconfiada, terca y vanidosa”.

all the vices of a haughty oligarchy. [...] The Irish priest was the cushion, the medicine, the poem, the legend, the rage of Ireland. Triggered by misfortune, the Irish learned from generation to generation to love their priest. They would prefer to see their heart burning in the pipe than to rip their love off the *Sagairt aruin*, their poem, their comfort, their homeland in the exile, and the smell of their rural birthplace, their medicine and their cushion!” (*El Partido Liberal*, México, published as well in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 14 April 1887, *Obras Completas*, 11:137).¹⁶⁴ In this revered position, the Irish priests were seen by Martí as manipulating the people according to their own interests.

Conclusion

Reflecting the situation of the Irish communities in Latin America, the perception that the people in the region had about Ireland was fragmented and partial. Attitudes towards the Irish were modelled by local residents and travellers from the island, and also by readings in the press and other media usually controlled by British interests.

A set of negative perceptions followed shared opinions among the middle- and upper-classes in England. Some Latin American writers like Domingo F. Sarmiento echoed English prejudices in considering the Irish a seemingly poor-quality immigrant in South America.

The nationalist fight of the Irish against British rule gained the heart of Latin Americans. Identified with the struggle of a colonised people in Ireland, Latin American intellectuals from José Martí to Eduardo Galeano, Mario Vargas Llosa and Carlos Fuentes were positively

¹⁶⁴ “Los clérigos hambrientos que venían de Roma, manchados con un fausto inicuo, con todos los vicios de una oligarquía soberbia. [...] El cura irlandés fue la almohada, la medicina, el verso, la leyenda, la cólera de Irlanda: de generación en generación, precipitado por la desdicha, se fue acumulando en el irlandés este amor al cura, y antes le quemarán al irlandés el corazón en su pipa, que arrancarle cariño a su ‘Sogarth Aroon’, su poesía y su consuelo, su patria en el destierro y el olor de su campo nativo, su medicina y su almohada!”.

impacted by a Latin American accepted idea of the Irish. This idea includes as major features a rebellious character, kind-hearted mind and a spiritual or religious proclivity.

Few Latin American writers, including Jorge L. Borges and Derek Walcott, identified the major contribution of the Irish to Western culture, which is the innovation in English-language literature. In what can be seen as a literary germ to post-colonial studies, Borges and Walcott thought Ireland and the Irish writers as free artists who managed to liberate themselves from accepted rules and built a new way of writing in emerging literatures.

CHAPTER NINE CONCLUSION

Introduction

On a rainy day of April 1982, just after the Argentine military occupation of the Falkland Islands, I was studying at the school of agronomy in Buenos Aires. That morning I arrived late to a course but the professor did not show up. Somebody in the idle group of students shouted, *Ché inglés, vos acá no entrás* (You the Englishman, you are not allowed here). I stared at him but another replied, *Dejalo que es irlandés; [and to me] vos sos irlandés, no?* (Leave him, he is Irish; you are Irish, aren't you?). It followed a discussion about the imminent war in Malvinas and relations between Britain, Argentina and Ireland, but I could not contribute because of my ignorance on the subject. It was the first time I had to make a decision about my origins, and I hesitatingly adopted the rather forced Irish identity. From that day I was styled *El irlandés* among my friends.

Was I especially fond of being Irish? My father was Argentine, the grandson of Irish immigrants; my mother was born in Medellín, from a family with Colombian and Swiss backgrounds. My Irishness was so remote... My most immediate identity was Argentine. Basically, I wished to continue being accepted in my circle of friends, *que me dejaran entrar*. I wished them to let me in. That was the reason why I accepted the new nickname.

This personal reminiscence would not be relevant here except for the fact that it was not an individual episode. In the same period, due to the war and potential involvement of other South American countries, tens of thousands of Argentines, Brazilians, Peruvians, Chileans, and others in the region were being urged to make a definition: Are you English or Irish? For the vast majority it was a startling question. Everybody was comfortably seated on a

compromising structure of Latin American identities. But an aggression from an imperialist force replying to the aggression from the Argentine government prompted a solidarity that was unknown up to that time. Like in North America, people say “I am German”, “I am Italian”. Those with Irish names were socially compelled to choose a label: “I am Irish”.

A great part of this dissertation has been dedicated to consider the complexities of identity. Being Irish – or English or Brazilian or black or female or homosexual – is the result of a series of choices, and it implies behaviours that are rooted in social values. More than an internal and individual decision, identities are the product of a constant interaction among humans. Being is less important than becoming, and becoming fills the gap of what we are not. Throughout this dissertation I endeavoured to show that cultural representations are the materialisation of attitudes derived from social values. For the Irish in Latin America, these values were acquired from three different sources: the symbolic world, the vision of America, and the internal void of culture.

Symbolic Worlds

Following psychological patterns, societies build their collective imagination through symbols. Symbols are an economical format in which multiple representations are coded. They convey a meaning that is more powerful than that of the signifiers in the semiosphere, because it is determined by forceful social conventions and thus avoids unnecessary ambiguity.¹⁶⁵

The means by which a social group defines itself are not only material symbols – like the Irish shamrock or the harp – but also and especially linguistic constructions. The symbolic

¹⁶⁵ Juri Lotman describes the semiosphere as the space in which the sign process operates in the context of the biological environment (Juri Lotman, “On the Semiosphere” in *Sign System Studies*, 33:1, 2005, pp. 205-229).

world of the Irish in Latin America was structured centripetally, from the universe to the society to the family and finally to the individual. In this view, the sun, the stars, and the planets are arranged towards centres, and each centre follows other centre. Nature is a supernatural force that produces changes in the cosmos and humans have the capacity to articulate those changes through language. The progression from the universe to the society, from society to the family and to the individual is made through analogies. The society is viewed as a metaphorical reflection of the universe, and the family is an image of the society. The individual plays a role that is determined by the family. A rupture in this order, like that produced by the emigration, has everlasting effects in the individual.

The Irish went to Latin America with a preconceived idea of their role. They wished to change their position in the world, although they would not think on changing the world. The values and attitudes among the landlords, farmers, and labourers of Dublin, Westmeath or Antrim were not very different from those held by others in the British Isles. The Irish shared most of the concerns and principles of the English, Scots, and Welsh. They regarded – at least until the 1880s – the British Crown as the undisputed source of authority and the centre of the society, and the landlords as possessors of the land they occupied and laboured for generations.

Land was for the Irish in Latin America the supreme metaphor of their belief on a capital-structured society and, at the same time, a metonymy of the possibility to become landlords. The production cycle in which they integrated commenced with land, followed by agricultural or mining production. The process of acquiring the means of production required psychological and material mobility. The Irish did not challenge private property nor supported communal land; they wished to become landlords and thus join the landed elites.

The land-hungry Irish were eager to climb the social ladder but recognised that this was not possible at home and therefore were ready to emigrate.

Emigration – a term paradoxically linked to land – was for the Irish in Latin America the natural solution to their impediment to acquire land and to progress in the social structure in Ireland. They sought in the plains, deserts, and rainforests of the Americas a space where they could import and reproduce the same relations among landlords, tenants, and labourers that ruled their lives in Ireland but playing the role of the landlords. “It is one of history’s little ironies” – wrote an Irish diplomatic envoy to Buenos Aires in the 1950s – “that our immigrants came to Argentina to assist in building up a system and a class the creation of which in Ireland had led to their own emigration” (Horan 1958).

During the immigration period few Irish considered themselves Irish. Rather, they were *ingleses* from Galway, Cork, Wexford or other places in Ireland. They did not present themselves as exiles; they were emigrants trying to improve their lot. If they could not manage to acquire land, or at least enjoy the stability of enduring jobs for them and their families, they packed and left again. Return migration and re-migration were as natural as leaving Ireland.

Whether in fictional works or in the press, in their correspondence or in dances, waking their death or playing sports, the Irish embodied the ambiguous symbols of migration and identity. “Home” gradually changed from the place where they were born and where they materialised their affections, to a remote area detached of psychological forces. It became less the place where lived the people they loved and more the distant spot where they were born. Perhaps without being aware of this process, their home in Latin America became the new topography, the people, and social links that gave them a place among others.

Latin America as *Wunderkammer*

A chamber of wonders, a protomuseum, an array of disparate and apparently unrelated curiosities. A room or a cabinet dedicated to rare objects, from biological specimens and coloured shells to machines, disproportionate fetuses, precious stones, and weird creatures. A private sanctuary where the muses treasure the microcosmos that embodies the universe. The cabinet of curiosities, with its arrangements and taxonomy, is an endeavour to put order to the chaos of the world. It is an attempt to protect ourselves from the uncanny.

Among the Irish and other European immigrants, Latin America was regarded in the same way of the late Renaissance conception of the *Wunderkammer*. Even before leaving their homes in Ireland, “Amerikay” was conceived by the Irish as an empty space which was necessary to fill and organise with purported civilisation and progress. The space in the “new world” (*novo orbis*, according to the Europeans in the sixteenth century) offered fertile lands, timber, minerals, and precious metals that were readily available for Europe. But it was a void, a vast green wasteland that did not give its riches away until the Europeans came with their arts and techniques to extract them.

The Irish who sailed to Latin America were willing to play a role in the development of the region. They did not only envision a personal benefit and an exciting adventure, but they were aware of their own leading part as agents of progress. Numerous passages in the letters of the Murphy family of Wexford, the books by Kathleen Nevin, William Bulfin and John Macnie, the press articles in the *Standard* and the *Southern Cross*, and other texts analysed in this thesis illustrate the perspective of the Irish in the region. They sincerely believed that Latin America could not only provide for their basic needs and those of their families, but also for their most idealistic ambitions of changing a continent. “The generality of people at home thinks we are living in a half civilized, half savage [place], a sort of desert wilderness such as

we read of in Sin-Bad the Sailor, and other like fairy tales. The five years that I was at home, there were a greater change effected towards the enlightenment and the social life and happiness of foreigners living in this country, than there were for all the previous years of its Independence” (20 June 1865). The “foreigners” – chiefly British and Irish in that period – are viewed as the agents of the “change” and “enlightenment”.

In their psychological gathering of Latin American objects, the Irish included idealised types of Amerindian peoples, lush and plentiful agricultural land, cattle and sheep, minerals, railways and steamships covering the huge distances of the Americas, communications and trade systems, investment capital, and a community of *ingleses* with a “comfortable and independent way of living” (20 August 1865). They excluded Afro-Latin Americans and immigrants from other parts of Europe or Asia, who later were seen as competitors but during most of the nineteenth century were ignored.

I reckon that this thesis would fit in an academic *Wunderkammer*. As it is mentioned below the subject of the Irish in Latin America is in the crossroads of the traditional fields of Irish Studies or Latin American Studies. Considering Latin American people only as Amerindians or Afro-Latin Americans is a truism and this subject is a proof that there are many other social groups that contributed to the formation of cultures in the region. Among the students of Irish migrations, little attention is paid to non-English speaking regions of the world. This is, I believe, the reason why the study of the Irish in Latin America contributes to the established fields and disciplines with a fresh vision of the customary objects in regions and social groups. Revising the conceptual foundations of cultural studies helps to understand this contribution.

Culture and Cultures

In a social group certain values are more or less constant among its members. Values are acquired through social interaction while the individual is normally not aware of this process and in most cases of their existence. Values are gradual; we can be more or less religious, nationalist or reactionary. On the other hand, principles are conventional, explicit, and oppositional. Values and principles determine the attitudes and behaviours in different situations. Attitudes are individual, passive, and change with time and circumstances; behaviours are social, active, and more or less fixed. Values, principles, attitudes, and behaviours are useful as a methodology to identify the analysis of the representations in gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, ideology, and other cultural parameters (e.g., age, health, origin, education).

In the established Irish communities in Latin America the immigrants contributed their faith (Catholic or Protestant), their love for family, parish and county, and their traditionalist social ideas. As a general rule, they were less excited by religion and spiritual advancement than by material and, particularly, social progress. They proved to be staunchly attached to societies modelled by land tenure and the family, and reacted against any effort to change this order. Gender and age roles were strictly defined. The authority and the properties went to the eldest male members of the family, while women were supposed to comply with masculine rule and as compensation received the dowry from the men (the only exception was with the landowning widows, who could freely dispose of their properties in the way they wished). Class barriers derived from the land regime, including ownership, tenancy, or labour arrangements, and were followed in Ireland and replicated in Latin America. Regardless of their social standing, almost everyone among the Irish perceived themselves ethnically closer to the British than to any other social group in the region. Their airs of superiority were often

apparent towards the indigenous peoples, Creoles, Afro-Latin Americans, Chinese-Latin Americans, and immigrants from other origins. In certain circumstances the Irish accepted members of those groups, like in the case of marriages between Irish merchants and women from landowning Creole families, or between poor Irish labourers and female members of indigenous communities.¹⁶⁶

The Irish followed the British ethos of civilisation and believed that they (British and Irish) were destined to play an active role as agents of progress in the purportedly “wild” landscapes of Latin America. It was a complex set of attitudes that considered the British Isles as the centre of civilisation, their Irish parishes and counties as their birthplaces, and Latin America as the space of barbarous and savage people where everything is possible. This view prompted Irish-born John Macnie to close his account of South America with the following song, and to claim that to settle down “there is no place like England” (Macnie 1925: 179). His personalisation of the region takes the shape of a “dark-eyed girl” who lived in the Buenos Aires province district of Guaminí, and who is evoked by the returned migrant.

A Song of the Pampa

H. Waller Tatam¹⁶⁷

In a little Pampa puesto in the plains of Guaminí,
Lived a dark-eyed girl I fancied, and who rather fancied me;
She cut no ice at waltzing, and she never wore a hat,
But when it came to flirting, she was quite *au fait* at that.
If I told her that I loved her, which I very often did,
Than I thought her an affectionate, amusing little kid,
I spoke with all the ardour of the fiery Spanish tongue,
In the days when I was foolish, in the days when I was young.
 In the camps of Guaminí,
 It is here that I would be,
If that little girl had waited twenty years or so for me.
 It is here that I would be,
 By an old aroma tree,

¹⁶⁶ A leading example of the former case was Thomas Armstrong (1797-1875), married with Justa Villanueva, the daughter of Buenos Aires chief officer. Among the examples of the later case were some Irish shepherds and ranch hands who married members of the Coliqueo landowner indigenous family in Los Toldos, General Viamonte.

¹⁶⁷ Most likely, “H. Waller Tatam” is a penname of the author, who before the citation carefully disclaimed his affection to the girl of the pampas. “I cannot say that my thoughts were of the ‘dark-eyed girl’ but of the country ‘where the paja voladora hid the fences from the view’” (180-182).

Had the dark-eyed girl but waited only twenty years for me.

Through the foggy streets of London when the murky sun has set,
 I may trudge for leagues in silence, but still I can't forget;
 If I listen for a football by a lonely saucé street,
 At the upper end of Regent Street instead of Guaminí;
 [...] When I sit on the Embankment in the twilight after-glow,
 I remember the lagunas where the red flamingos go;
 Where the mighty Pampa hunter, with a length of brown bamboo,
 Tries to break the spinal column of the timid tinamu.
 [...] When I go to public functions and the band begins to play,
 I remember other music more than half a world away;
 Where the sad guitars are twanging out their melancholy drone,
 While the local Juan Moreiras step the stately Pericón.
 [...] With a little dark-eyed maiden who had go me quite entranced
 With her warm criollo kisses and her arms around me flung,
 In the days when I was foolish, in the days when I was young.

Together with flirting, hunting, and playing football, music occupies important places in the reminiscences of the speaker. In his Darwinian imagination, Latin America is a space where only the “mighty” indigenous hunter survives. The fittest settlers from Ireland and the British Isles – the “first-class man” (177) – will also be able to endure the hard life in the pampas. But “once let it be whispered that a manager imbibes or indulges in any other little weakness on the estancia – good-bye for ever his hopes of advancement” (177). “For the *thé dansant* and cinema-haunting, mannerless youth floating about England to-day in such numbers, there is, thank Heaven, no room – and never will be” (174).

Why the Irish?

Why studying the Irish in Latin America? Why their cultural footsteps in the region are worth of research and examination? Other social groups have been major contributors to Latin American culture: Amerindian and African in particular, but also Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Italian, people from Middle and East Asia, and from every corner in Western and Eastern Europe – let alone the Swiss, who went to Latin America in larger numbers than the Irish and formed distinguishable colonies in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa

Rica, Paraguay, Uruguay, and other countries. One can also study the region through different trades, sports, the arts, or a particular period or area. Why the Irish?

The Irish are a different point of view to study Latin America and the Caribbean. Originated in United States and European scholarship, the field of Latin American Studies usually focuses on the region and its culture, with sections for the different countries, and increasingly in its areas and peoples. However, priority is given to the numerically significant groups and especially to those with an impact in the United States, being the most important fields Chicano Studies and Cuban Studies.¹⁶⁸ Fewer scholars focus on Latin American migrations, with the greater emphasis on immigration in the U.S. and Europe, and earlier immigration from Europe, chiefly from Spain and Italy.

The Irish provide a scalpel and microscope: a scalpel to make a horizontal cut through the cultures of Latin America; a microscope to zero in on their representations of the new countries. It is a synchronic tool to observe the diverse peoples and cultures in the region, and a diachronic instrument to examine their evolution. The Irish offer an opportunity to understand Latin America from a fresh perspective. The three fundamental characteristics by which the Irish present certain research advantages are otherness, fragmentation, and deterritorialisation.

Otherness

The differences between the society that the emigrants left behind in Ireland and the cultures they met in Latin America were relatively significant. The level of otherness was high in the diverse values and attitudes, approaches to puzzling dilemmas, languages, notions of state and development, views of the past and the future. Indeed, other immigrants in the

¹⁶⁸ The largest scholarly institutions in this area are based in the U.S. and in England (e.g., Latin American Studies Association and Society for Latin American Studies). It is in those countries where most of the Latin American university programmes are located, and where the most important specialised journals are published.

region may be seen as more “different” than the Irish (like the Syrians, Chinese, Hindu or Japanese), and they could also serve to analyse the receiving region from a different perspective.

Fragmentation

The Irish came from a culture (in Ireland) that reflected on another culture (in England), triggering in this way a marked fragmentation among different subcultures. The oppositions English-Irish, North-South, Catholic-Protestant, urban-rural are schematisations and simplifications of a complex society in which all these contradictory elements are present in some way or another. The French and Spanish Basque could be taken as an example of fragmentation, though they present a much more homogenous set of values than the Irish regarding ethnicity and religion.

Deterritorialisation

As soon as the Irish started their movement of migration towards Latin America, their culture was gradually uprooted from the island of Ireland, and the strong links between culture and space weakened. These links were reinstalled while the corresponding process of reterritorialisation was taking place in Latin American locations. The culture of the diaspora was irremediably connected to Ireland but was embedded in Latin America. When the Irish elites joined the local bourgeoisies the deterritorialisation was complete.¹⁶⁹

The distinct feature of the Irish emigrants is that they were already deterritorialised in Ireland by the English colonial rule. Since centuries before emigration, their culture sought other spaces to be linked to. When they could complete the process and finally established on

¹⁶⁹ In some cases the process experienced a new cyclical progression. In the beginning of the twenty-first century descendants of the Irish immigrants in the region considered themselves *irlandeses* and wished to obtain Irish citizenship.

the land (some of them acquiring it) in Latin America, they reproduced the same ties they have acquired in Ireland. The colonised in Ireland became colonisers in Latin America; the oppressed became oppressors.

Otherness, fragmentation, and deterritorialisation acted together to provide the Irish an ideal condition to study their cultural migration.

Open Hypotheses

The dissertation opened with the hypothesis that the Irish in Latin America illustrate the production of shared values and behaviours that resulted in specific emigrant narratives. I have covered different cultural representations that convey those values. From the Irish patterns of migration to their fictional works, the press, correspondence, visual arts, sports, place names, education, music, and celebrations; all of them follow different narratives that plot the traditional (albeit contradictory) values of the Irish in the region.

Other sub-hypotheses may be opened by this study. The emigrant women and their roles in the settlement process have been neglected. They were employed in domestic service, as teachers, nurses, nannies, or nuns and later administrative employees. Of particular interest is the case of many widows who inherited land from their husbands and stayed in the rural areas to manage their properties. They enjoyed rewarding family and social lives, and may be considered a counter-example of several traditional gendered narratives placing women at subordinate roles of the men.

The political discourses of the Irish is another appealing area, from the very traditional and conservative views of the landowning elites in the late nineteenth century to the disproportionate presence of Irish surnames in the rebel movements and guerrilla warfare against U.S.-backed dictatorial Latin American regimes throughout the region in the 1960s-

1980s. To this we can add the remarkable presence of Irish professional fighters and soldiers of fortune in the colonial armies of Britain, Spain, Portugal, France, and the armies of the Wars of Independence and regular or irregular forces in the region (including the odd diplomatic affair created by the visit of three alleged IRA members to FARC liberated territory in Colombia in 2001).¹⁷⁰

Another subject is the role played by Irish missionaries (Catholic and Protestant) who went to Latin America following their Irish flock, and later to win over other souls to their faith and, more frequently, on pleading journeys to obtain donations for numerous charity works in Ireland and in other places. The reactions to these journeys among the wealthy Irish are another source of information about their ideological principles. The English-language press is in this and other subjects, an excellent source of information.

Finally, more recent developments on the Irish communities in Latin America represent a corpus of cultural representations and oral history that are worth studying. The renaissance of traditional Irish music, dance and sports, the broad distribution of Irish alcoholic products and pubs throughout the region, and a renewed interest in the literature and history of the island characterise the quest for identity of the Irish families and their European-centred and bourgeois views of Latin America.

Uniqueness vs. Exceptionalism

One of the most frequent remarks one can hear when travelling in Latin America and the Caribbean is “You know, we are different”. Of course this belief is not exclusive of the region and it is shared by millions in other parts of the world. In Latin America the pronoun “we”

¹⁷⁰ The Irish and British mercenaries in the South American Wars of Independence is treated at length by Matthew Brown in *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simón Bolívar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations* (2006).

does not refer to the region but to the diverse nations, ethnic groups, urban quarters, and even hideabout communities in faraway districts. Being different – whether good or bad, superior or inferior – means for the people that their society does not conform to the general rules that apply to others. Their rationale is that they are special, that their circumstances, culture, and national spirit developed a people that is different from others and cannot be subject to comparative analysis. Exceptionalism is usually nourished by a historicist outlook that assigns to local conditions and topography the peculiarity of the people.

The Irish were not an exceptional group. They were demographically and psychologically like any emigrant, young men and women who wished to improve their economic and social situation. For the vast majority the emigration was a boring journey on the railway and steam ships, an uncomfortable initial settlement in a strange land and, in many cases, a new trip after some years in search of new opportunities in North America, Australia or back in the British Isles. As a rule those who could find a stable occupation and, especially those who managed to acquire agricultural land or other means of production, stayed in the new countries and formed families who gradually integrated in the local middle classes, and after three or four generations were undistinguishable from the larger societies. This is not the description of an exceptional group.

On the other hand, Latin America is an odd destination for the Irish. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the West Indies attracted numbers of plantation owners, managers, and workers, and from the first decades of the nineteenth century South America was appealing to European emigration in growing numbers. What interested me to research this subject is the encounter of the Irish and Latin American cultures and the results in cultural terms. The Irish with their ambiguous and contradictory identities contributed their language and customs, their values and attitudes, their will to transform the natural resources in an increasingly

globalised economy. Latin America not only supplied the landscape but, more important, the possibilities that the immigrants perceived as incommensurable. Latin America and its peoples were the open horizon that the Irish were looking for to materialise their dreams.

As this thesis comes to an end, new questions arise. Are the Irish in Latin America an identifiable community with their traditions and culture? Has been the Irish presence a long-lasting contribution to the region? Does this particular emigration have a significant cultural impact? Pigeonholing the Irish in Latin America only serves to oversimplify. Treating them as unique or exceptional is a good way to forget their most important contribution. From the different sources and cultural artefacts examined here, it is possible to conclude that the Irish in this region are a rich case of social hybridism, which contributes with tangible examples and sizeable discourses to the larger field of cultural studies. From this perspective, the research and writing for this thesis have been a rewarding experience, which I hope to share with others and enlarge in the future.

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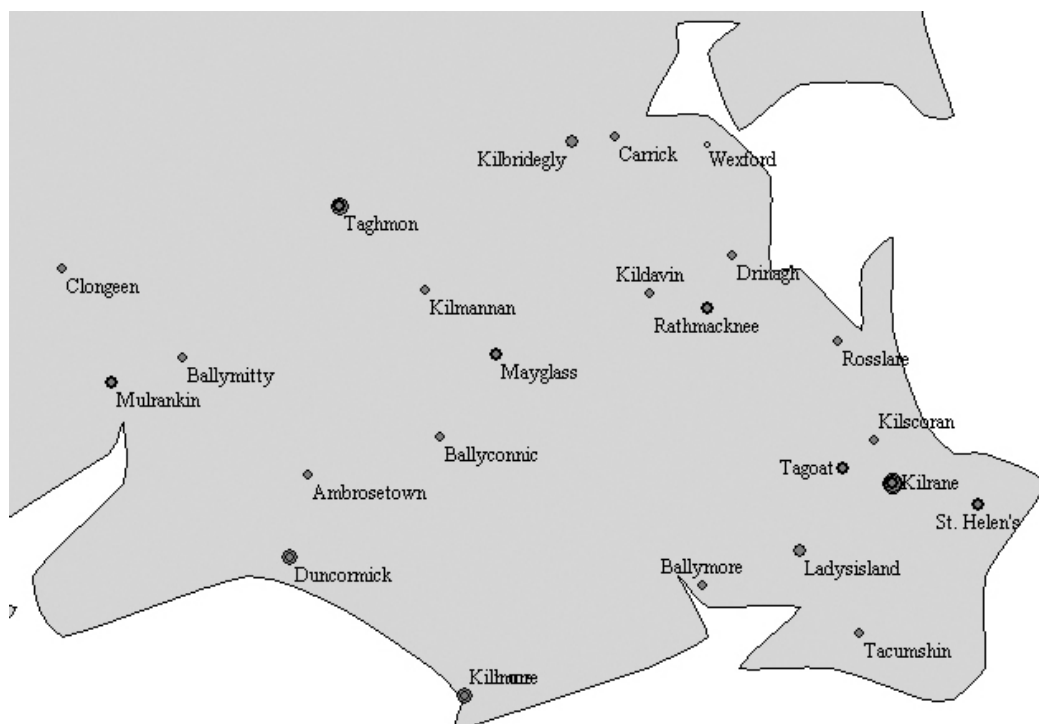
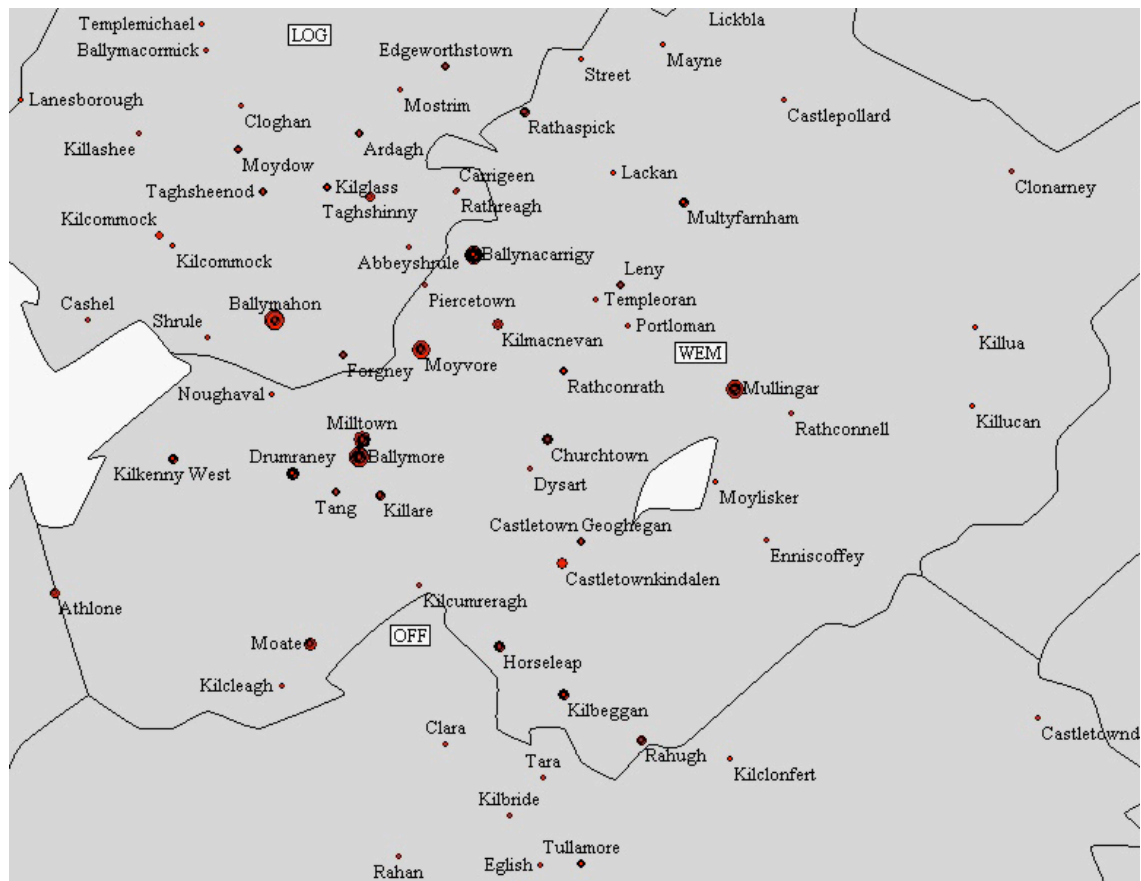
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APPENDIX A: MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Map of Ireland and Irish counties (*Wikimedia Commons*).



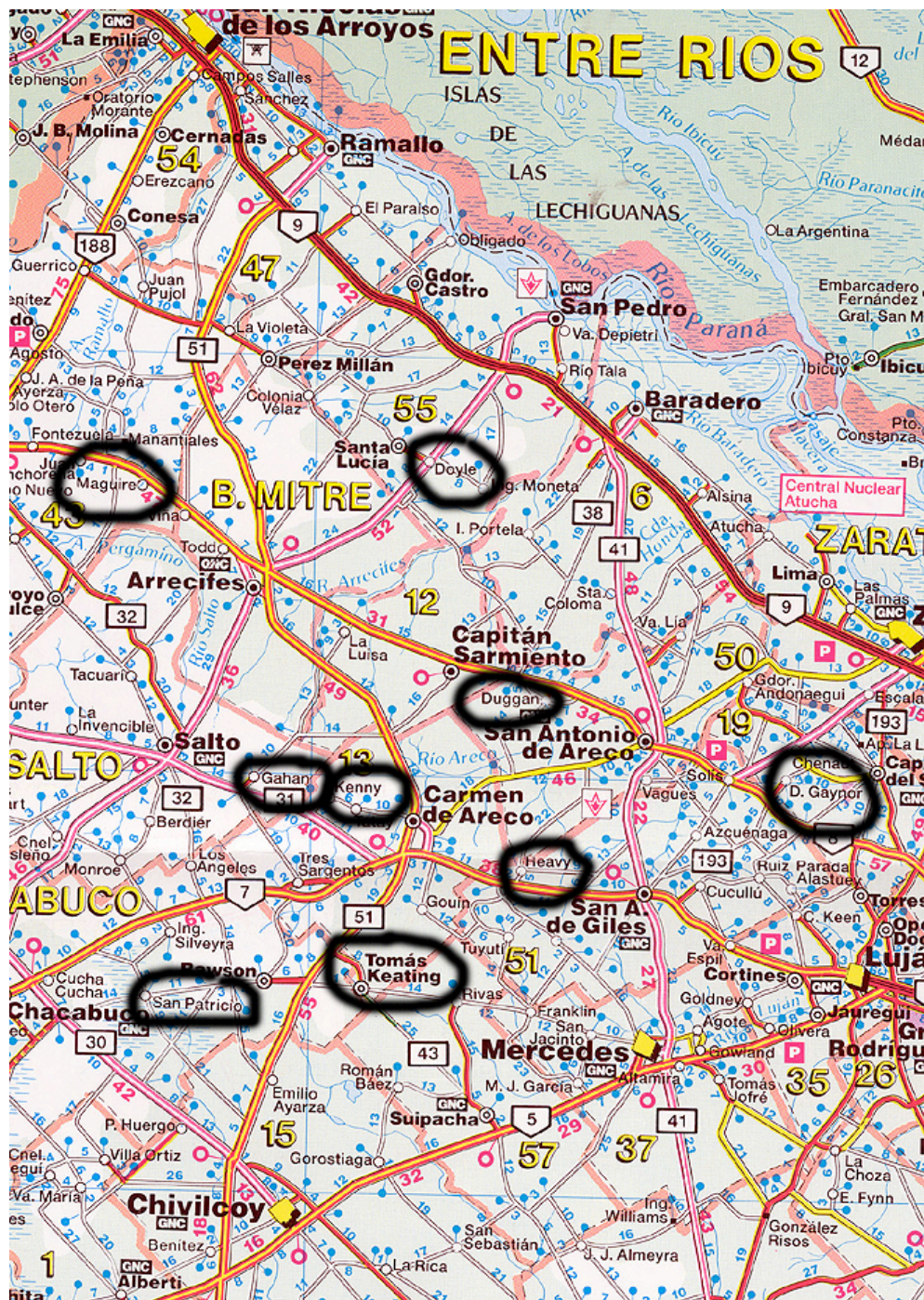


Figure 4. Irish toponyms near Buenos Aires.

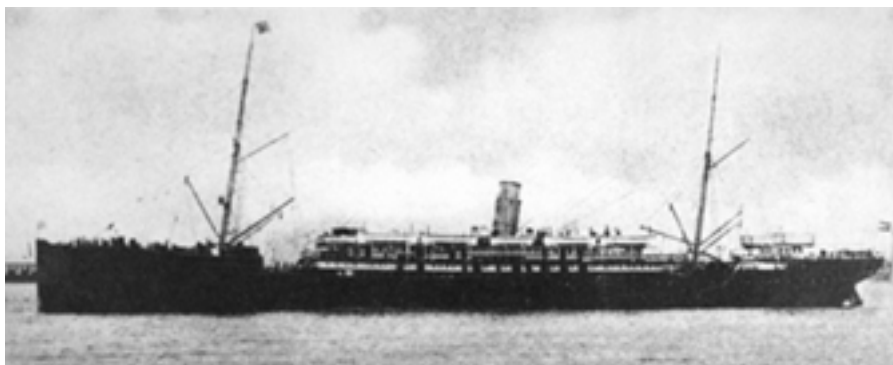


Figure 5. Steamer ship *Dresden* (Meahan private collection).

Pacific Steam Navigation Co.

Fortnightly Sailings from LIVERPOOL and VALPARAISO
calling at the following intermediate ports, viz:—
Bordeaux, Santander, Coruña, Carril, Vigo, Lisbon, Luxões, Oporto, St. Vincent, Pernambuco, Buenos Ayres (with transhipment at Montevideo), Sandy Point, Talcahuano, Valparaiso, and in connection with other Steamers of this Company running on the Pacific Coast as far as Panamá.

The Steamers of this Company sail from Montevideo fortnightly alternating every week one for Europe and one for the Pacific Coast.

Passengers from Buenos Ayres to Montevideo in connection with the Company's Steamers are conveyed GRATIS.

IN CASE OF DETENTION at Montevideo through bad weather, etc., the Company will defray the ordinary Hotel expenses of passengers of all classes during such detention.

REDUCED PASSENGERS FARES

The Steamers are illuminated with electric light, and are fitted with the latest improvements for the accommodation of passengers.

Passengers in all classes booked through to:—

NEW YORK U.S.A. in connection with the Steamers of the *Cunard Line*.
CANADA " " " " " *Allan Line*.
AUSTRALIA " " " " " *Orient Line*.

Table wine is granted to all classes of passengers.

For Itineraries and full particulars of Dates of Sailing, Fares, etc., apply to the Agents,

Wilson Sons & Co. (Limited)
RIO DE JANEIRO, *Praca das Marinhas.*
BUENOS AYRES, *365, Reconquista.*
MONTEVIDEO, *55, Solís.*

Figure 6. Shipping company advertisement in the *Handbook of the River Plate* (1892).



Figure 7. Plaque at Calle O'Reilly in Havana.

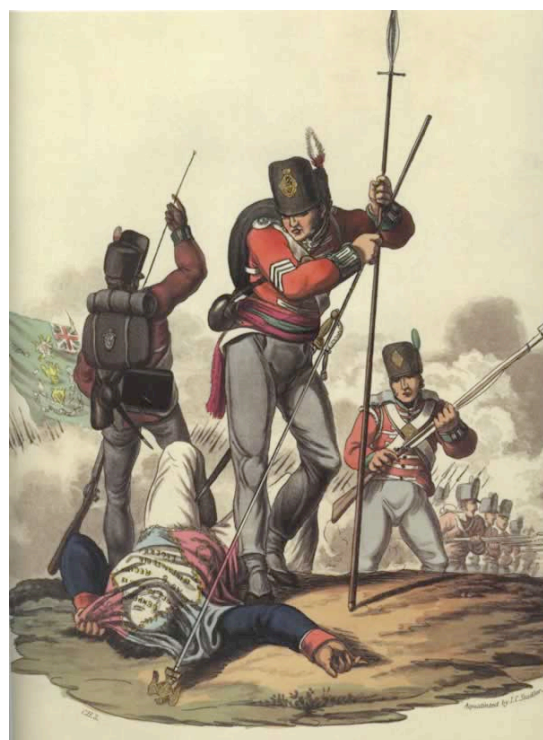


Figure 8. Soldier of the Irish Legion in Venezuela (Mariano S. Suberaux, 1821, detail).

Figure 9. William Bulfin during his bike tour of Ireland
(*Anne McBride White collection*).

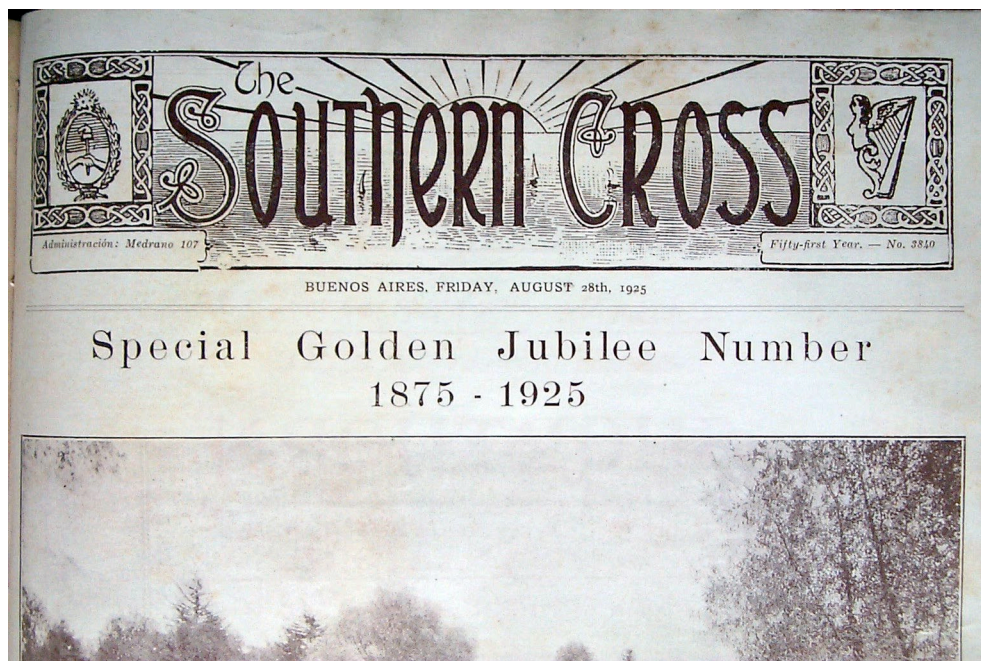


Figure 10. The *Southern Cross* special issue of 28 August 1925.



Figure 11. St. Patrick's Day 1949 at Luján Basilica (Rafael Perez de Andes collection).

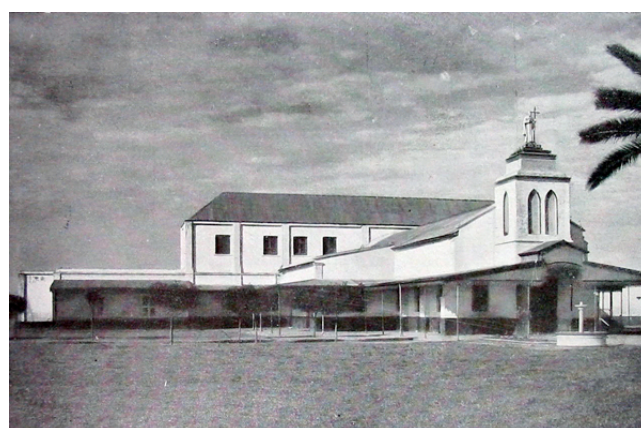


Figure 12. St. Patrick's chapel (*left*) and school (*right*), Capitán Sarmiento (Passionist Fathers, *Golden Jubilee of the Monastery*, November 1938).



Figure 13. Pilgrims at St. Paul's Monastery, 18 May 1898 (Passionist Fathers, *Golden Jubilee of the Monastery*, November 1938).



Figure 14. Irish gathering and dance at La Anita (*Miguel Murphy collection*).



Figure 15. Edward Wallace playing the uilleann pipes in Venado Tuerto (1952) (*José Wallace collection*).



Figure 16. Che Guevara's visit to Ireland (*The Irish Times*, 19 December 1964).

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

ca. AD 550

- St. Brendan of Ardfert and Clonfert (484-580) mythical call at Mexico during his American journey. Although not included in the ninth-century legends that originated the story of Brendan the Voyager (*Navigatio Brendani*), seventeenth-century Mexican traditions have seen in Quetzalcóatl's representations by the Aztecs and other Mesoamerican cultures a trace of St. Brendan's call on Mexico.

1400s - 1600s

- Christopher Columbus visits Galway and the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas of Myra (1477). Some of Columbus's crew members in the 1492 expedition may have been from Galway.

- Three other Galway sailors follow Ferdinand Magellan in his circumnavigation of the world (1519-1522).

- Juan and Tomás Farel (Farrell) are among the first settlers of Buenos Aires city led by Pedro de Mendoza (1536).

- Thomas Field, S.J. (1547-1626) of Limerick arrives in Brazil (1577).

- The Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses opens in Salamanca. Many of the students in this and other Irish Colleges in Spain and Portugal play religious, military, and administrative roles in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America (1593).

- Brothers Philip and James Purcell establish a colony in Tauregue, on the mouth of the Amazon river. A second group arrives later led by Bernardo O'Brien of Co. Clare (1612).

1700s

- An official census in the Caribbean island of Montserrat shows that many of the 5,855 black slaves are owned by families with Irish surnames, such as Daly, Farrill, Hussey, Lynch, and Roach (1729).

- The Spanish establishes an Irish Regiment in Mexico. All companies are commanded by officers with Irish names, O'Hare, Barry, Fitzpatrick, Quinn, O'Brien, Healy, O'Leary, and Treby (Tracy) (1768-1771).

- First recorded St. Patrick's Day celebration in Latin America in a church built by Lancelot Belfort (1708-1775) at Kilrue Plantation by the Itapecurú River, Maranhão State, in northern Brazil (17 March 1770).

- Ambrose O'Higgins (1721-1801) of county Sligo is appointed governor of Chile. In 1787 O'Higgins is made the viceroy of Peru.

- Irish-born John McNamara and his British 45th regiment attack without success Colonia del Sacramento in the northern bank of the Río de la Plata (present-day Uruguay). McNamara and most of the crew die in the battle (November 1762).
- Thousands of Irish and British soldiers occupy Havana and West Cuba during the Seven Years' War (1762-1763).
- William Farmer (b. 1732) of Youghal, county Cork, commands the sloop *Swift* in West Falkland (*Gran Malvina*) waters, but is obliged to evacuate Port Egmont by a much larger Spanish force (1770).
- Michael O'Gorman (1749-1819) arrives in the Río de la Plata as the official surgeon in the expedition of the Spanish viceroy Pedro de Ceballos. He will be the founder of the first medical school in Buenos Aires (1776).

1800s - 1810s

- About a half of the 25,000-strong British forces storming the Spanish viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata are from Ireland. Some remain in the region and start private migration networks from the Irish Midlands (1806 and 1807).
- William Brown (1777-1857) of county Mayo is appointed commander of the Buenos Aires fleet. He breaks the Spanish blockade in the Río de la Plata and ends the Spanish threat to the region (1814).
- Peter Campbell (b. 1780), a veteran of the British campaigns in the Río de la Plata, commands the first Uruguayan navy (1814).
- John McKenna (1771-1814) dies in a duel in Buenos Aires. Born in county Tyrone, McKenna was educated in Spain and in 1796 joined the Spanish colonial administration in Peru and Chile. He fought in the Chilean war of independence with Ambrose O'Higgins's son Bernardo (1814).
- Thomas Armstrong (1797-1895) of county Offaly arrives in Buenos Aires. He became a principal merchant, landowner, and leader of the Irish community (1817).
- John Devereux (d. 1854) of county Wexford and others recruit soldiers in Ireland to join Simón Bolívar's independence army in South America. Daniel O'Connell strongly supports Bolívar and sends his son Morgan. Most of the 2,000 soldiers will return home or die in battle and from sickness. Some remain in South America, like Daniel F. O'Leary (1801-1854) in Colombia, Francis B. O'Connor (1791-1871) in Bolivia, and Arthur Sandes (d. 1832) in Ecuador (1818-1822).

1820s

- Juan Dumphi O'Donojú (d. 1821), son of Kerry and Tipperary immigrants in Spain, arrives in Mexico as the last Spanish Viceroy. He signs the Treaty of Córdoba, recognising Mexico's autonomy, and dies shortly after (1821).
- Stephen Hallet, an Irish-born printer living in Buenos Aires launches *La Gaceta Mercantil* (1823).

- The Anglo-Argentine Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce further perpetuates British and Irish presence in the Río de la Plata. Merchants settle and actively trade in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and other ports in the region (1824).
- Peter Sheridan (1792-1844) of county Cavan starts a sheep-farm near Buenos Aires (1824).
- Bernard Kiernan (1780-1863), a surveyor and astronomer of county Derry arrives in Buenos Aires from the U.S. He settled first in St. John, New Brunswick, and then went to the Río de la Plata with other “Irish Yankees” (1824).
- Francis Burdett O’Connor (1791-1871) is appointed chief of staff of the United Army of Liberation in Peru (1824).
- Thomas Wright (1799-1868) of Queensborough, Drogheda founds the nautical school at Guayaquil, Ecuador (1826).
- John King (1800-1857) of Newport, county Mayo joins the Argentine forces as second lieutenant during the war against Brazil (1826).
- More than 2,500 Irish men with their families arrive in Rio de Janeiro from Cork. They were recruited by Col. William Cotter of the Brazilian imperial army to fight in the war against Argentina. After mutinies and sickness most return to Ireland or go to Argentina and Canada (1827).
- John Thomond O’Brien (1786-1861), an officer in the independence wars in Argentina, Chile and Peru, is commissioned by the government of Buenos Aires to promote the immigration of 200 Irish labourers (1828).

1830s

- Successful colonies are established in Mexican Texas by Irish *empresarios* John McMullen, James McGloin, James Power, and James Hewetson. Many of the colonists are from county Wexford (1829-1836).
- St. Patrick’s Day (17 March) is celebrated with dinner and dancing in Welsh’s *quinta* in Buenos Aires. The previous year St. Patrick was honoured at Willy’s Naval Hotel (*Irish Jemmy’s*) in a private party (1830).
- John Dillon opens the first brewery in Argentina (1830).
- Father Patrick J. O’Gorman arrives at Buenos Aires to succeed Fr. Burke, first Irish Catholic chaplain in Buenos Aires (1831).
- William Dickson of Dublin, storekeeper for Louis Vernet’s colonists in the Falkland Islands, is entrusted with the care of the British flag by Captain Onslow. Dickson is among those murdered by the gauchos led by Antonio Rivera (1833).
- Patrick Fleming, a merchant in Buenos Aires, is kidnapped by Ranqueles Indians and later rescued by Governor Rosas’ expedition (1833).
- Several Irish farmers settle in Uruguay (1836).
- Sheep-farming increases in Argentina, southern Brazil and Uruguay as a consequence of the increasing wool prices. Irish artisans and small businessmen are attracted to the countryside (1839).

1840s

- Total Irish population in Buenos Aires is 3,500. At least three-fourths are from Westmeath (1841).
- Father Anthony Fahy, the leader of the Irish Argentines for forty years, arrives in Buenos Aires (1843).
- Irish immigrants begin arriving in Argentina in larger numbers. The barque *William Peile* arrives with 114 emigrants from county Wexford (1844).
- Robert Gore (1810-1854) of Wexford is appointed as British chargé d'affaires in Montevideo and later in Buenos Aires (1846).
- Camila O’Gorman and Father Uladislao Gutierrez elope from Buenos Aires and are executed the following year (1847).
- A generous Famine Relief Fund is sent by Fr Fahy to the Archbishop of Dublin, collected both from those living far away in the countryside and the rich city dwellers of Buenos Aires (1847).
- More than fifty survivors of the San Patricios Battalion are flogged, branded and some executed in Mexico by the U.S. military forces. Led by sergeant John Riley, the Irish and others defected from the U.S. forces and crossed the lines in the US-Mexican War of 1846-1848 (10-13 September 1847).
- The Irish Hospital is established in Buenos Aires (1848).

1850s

- A census in the Falkland Islands counts seventy-four Irish-born persons (1851).
- William MacCann’s *Two Thousand Miles’ Ride through the Argentine Provinces* is published in London (1853).
- Fr. T. Donovan, an Irish Catholic priest, leads up to 400 Wexford emigrants to Monte Bonito, near Pelotas in the then province of Rio Grande do Sul. The Irish colony rapidly collapses, with most of the survivors making their way to Argentina or Uruguay (1854).
- Three hundred and sixty Irish workers arrive from the U.S. at the construction site of the Panama Railroad. They die in great numbers owing to malaria, cholera, and accidents (1854).
- William Russell Grace (1832-1904) of Queenstown, county Laois, and his brother Michael establish a merchant house in Callao, Peru. Their business will grow and diversify in mining and shipping in Chile, Argentina, and other South American countries (1854).
- Eliza Lynch (1835-1886), the lover of dictator Francisco Solano López, arrives in Paraguay. She becomes the unofficial first lady and remain together with López during the Triple Alliance war against Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay (1855).
- The Sisters of Mercy arrive in Buenos Aires (1856).
- During a yellow fever outbreak in Uruguay, Dr. Constantine Conyngham (1807-1868) renders important services to the community (1856).

- Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna launches *La Asamblea Constitucional* newspaper in Santiago, Chile (1858).
- The Sisters of Mercy open a new school in Buenos Aires (1858).
- Wool merchant and landowner Thomas Duggan (1827-1913) of Ballymahon, county Longford, arrives in Buenos Aires. He becomes one of the wealthiest Irish-born persons (1859).

1860s

- Dublin-born brothers Michael George Mulhall and Edward Thomas Mulhall launch the *Standard*, the first English-language daily in South America and the first newspaper to install Linotype machines (1861).
- Patrick J. Dillon is ordained in Dublin (25 October). Some weeks later, he arrives in Argentina and is appointed Irish chaplain in Merlo and Cañuelas (1863).
- A subscription is started among the Irish of South America to support the building of Daniel O’Connell’s monument in Dublin (1863).
- Fr O’Gorman and Fr Fahy are named honorary canons of the cathedral church of Buenos Aires (1864).
- M. O’Brien, consul of Buenos Aires in Dublin, returns to Argentina (1864).
- Thomas J. Hutchinson’s *Buenos Aires and Argentine Gleanings* is published in London. Hutchinson, physician and British consul in Rosario, is a distinguished explorer and scientific writer appointed to represent British interests in Fernando Po, Montevideo, Rosario, and Lima (1865).
- William Scully (d. 1885) launches the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* of Rio de Janeiro (1865).
- In Carmen de Areco, Michael Duffy and John Dowling are appointed major and military commander, respectively (1866).
- Agents of the Brazilian government in England and the U.S. actively promote Irish emigration to Colônia Príncipe Dom Pedro (Santa Catarina). The Jesuit Joseph Lazenby of Rio de Janeiro, and Fr. George Montgomery of Wednesbury contribute from England. The scheme ends in complete failure (1867-1868).
- Race-meetings gather thousands of *irlandeses* in Luján, Navarro, and Capilla del Señor districts of the Argentine pampas (1867).
- Patrick Fitzsimons (1802-1872), a teacher of Ennis, county Clare, is commissioned by President Domingo F. Sarmiento to open the new Colegio Nacional in Corrientes (1869).
- The 1869 National Census returns include 10,709 British subjects residents in Argentina, 8,623 of them bearing Irish surnames, and 5,246 Irish-born.

1870s

- “Killallen” (Allen’s chapel) opens in Michael Allen’s ranch in Castilla (1870).

- St. Patrick's Society is established as the first political undertaking of the Irish in Argentina. It will also be a funding institution to promote further immigration from Ireland, and will be succeeded by the Admiral Brown club (1873).
- Stella Maris chapel opens in Port Stanley, Falkland Islands (1873).
- Dr. John (Juan) Creaghe (1841-1920) of Limerick arrives in Buenos Aires from Sheffield (1874). A well-known physician and anarchist, Creaghe published *El Oprimido* (1893-97), which became *La Protesta Humana* (1897-1903), and the hugely influential *La Protesta* (1903 to present day).
- Nicholas Lowe (1827-1902) launches the *Daily News*, addressed to Protestant readers, and the *Buenos Ayres News and River Plate Advertiser* (1874).
- First issue of *The Southern Cross*, founded by Fr Patrick J. Dillon (1875).
- The Ladies Irish Beneficent Society started by Mary Brennan (née Colclough) (1875).
- Second edition of Mulhall's *Handbook of the River Plate Republics* published in Buenos Aires (1875).
- Fr. James Foran is the first resident Catholic priest in Falkland Islands. He will remain in the archipelago eleven years (1875).
- Santa Lucía chapel opens on Juan Harrington's estancia in San Pedro (1876).
- St. George's College is founded by Fr Patrick J. Dillon, aiming at Irish and other English-speaking boys (1876).
- Michael Mahon (1815-1881) is elected vice-president of the Home Rule League in Capilla del Señor (1876).
- Lowther Brandon, a Church of Ireland clergyman from county Carlow becomes colonial chaplain of the Falkland Islands. He is credited with the establishment of the first savings bank, abstinence societies against alcohol abuse, and the *Falklands Islands Magazine* (1877).
- The College of Luján, for the sons of Irish Catholic sheep-farmers, is opened by Fr George (1877).
- Businessman Eduardo Casey (1847-1906) and William R. Gilmour purchase 1,700 square miles in the best agricultural area of Santa Fe, and start selling land to British, Irish, and other farmers (1879).

1880s

- Reacting to anti-Catholic movements and lack of support from the Irish, the Sisters of Mercy leave Argentina. They sail to Liverpool and most of them go to the Order's mission in Mount Gambier, Australia (1880).
- A great Land League meeting is held in Salto, and a branch of the home organisation established there (1881).
- The Irish Relief Fund is launched by Fr Martin Byrne, of the Passionist Order (1881).
- Michael Dinneen is appointed editor of the *Southern Cross*, succeeding Fr Dillon (1882).
- The Holy Cross church of the Passionist Fathers opens in Buenos Aires (1883).

- Edmundo and Guillermo Dennehy found Dennehy town in 9 de Julio, Buenos Aires (1883).
- The Irish Catholic Association starts in Buenos Aires (1883).
- William Bulfin (1862-1910), journalist and writer, arrives in Buenos Aires. He contributes to the *Southern Cross*, and later he will become its editor and owner. Bulfin also launches the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) branch in Latin America (1884).
- Azcuénaga, a village in San Andrés de Giles, is founded in sixteen squares of land donated by Juan Cunningham (1885).
- The Pallotines open a house in Argentina (1886).
- Francis Joseph Foley, teacher and future editor of the *Southern Cross*, arrives in Buenos Aires (1886).
- Buckley O'Meara and John Stephen Dillon (brother of Fr Patrick Dillon) are commissioned by the government to promote emigration from Ireland to Argentina (1887).
- The Venado Tuerto Polo and Athletic Club is founded (1888).
- The *Irish Argentine* newspaper is founded by Fr. Bernard Feeney (1844-1919) in Azcuénaga, Buenos Aires (1888).
- In Uruguay, Eduardo Casey purchases *The River Plate Times* paper (1889).
- The local section of the Gaelic League is founded in the Passionist monastery of Capitán Sarmiento, with J. E. O'Curry as its first president (1889).
- The news of the "Dresden Affair" transpires in Buenos Aires, including 1,774 Irish emigrants who were deceived by agents O'Meara and Dillon and embarked in the S.S. *Dresden* in Cork. Peter Gartland starts an Irish Colony in Napostá, with some of the Dresden emigrants. Fr. Matthew Gaughren, O.M.I. (1843-1914) and others try to help the colonists. Many children die of sickness (1889).

1890s

- The Sisters of Mercy return to Latin America and reopen their house in Buenos Aires (1890).
- The Fahy Institute is founded with thirty-three boys of the returned colonists of Napostá (1891).
- Thomas Mason founds Santa Rosa in La Pampa (1892).
- The Lobos Athletic Club starts in the province of Buenos Aires, with Tomás P. Moore as the first foot-ball captain (1892).
- Dublin-born teacher Kathleen Boyle (née Jones) (1869-1941) founds the English School of San Martín, in the outskirts of Buenos Aires, that will be renamed to San Patricio (1894).
- The Parnell Fund of the Río de la Plata is remitted to Justin MacCarthy for the benefit of the Irish Evicted Tenants (1894).
- In the Argentine census 18,617 individuals bear Irish surnames and 5,407 are born in Ireland. Fr Patrick O'Grady opens a chapel in Rivas railway station, Suipacha department (1895).

- Porteño Athletic Club is initiated as the first Irish football institution in Argentina, with Santiago G. O'Farrell as president (1895).
- Duggan railway station and town are founded in San Antonio de Areco (1896).
- During the Spanish-American War, the head of the Milligan Guards of Arizona William "Buckey" O'Neill is killed at San Juan Hill, Cuba (1898).
- Gahan railway station and town are founded in Salto (1898).
- St. Brigid's school opens in Buenos Aires, initially managed by the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and two years later by the Sisters of Mercy (1899).

1900s

- First official hurling match in Argentina, sponsored by the Buenos Aires Hurling Club (affiliated to the GAA), which is presided by James P. Harte (1900).
- William Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* published in London by Fisher & Unwin (1900).
- Aníbal Duffy from Carmen de Areco founds Duffy town in Santa Fe (1900).
- St. Patrick's Day is celebrated by 9,000 Irish-Argentines pilgrims in Luján basilica (17 March 1901).
- First class of students graduated from the Passionist Congregation in St. Paul's Monastery in General Sarmiento (1904).
- Paddy McCarthy (1871-1963) of Cashel, county Tipperary, is hired by Club Atlético Gimnasia y Esgrima of Buenos Aires to train its players. He is also coach of Boca Juniors, referee of the Argentine Association Football League during eighteen years, and one of the first professional boxers in Argentina (1904).
- Roger Casement (1864-1916) is appointed British consular official in Brazil. Casement was sent to the western Amazon to investigate treatment of the local Indian population by the Peruvian Amazon Company (1906).
- John Nelson (1859-1931) launches the *Hibernian-Argentine Review* (1906).
- After sixteen years struggling to recover from financial losses Eduardo Casey takes his life in Buenos Aires (1906).
- O'Brien railway station and town open in Bragado (1906).
- Tomás Mullally founds Realicó, in La Pampa (1907).
- Eduardo Pedro Maguire, one of the most important landowners in Argentina, and Kate Murray open Maguire railway station in Pergamino (1907).
- Lovat Ashe Mulcahy founds Mulcahy in 9 de Julio (1909).
- John James Murphy (1822-1909) of Wexford, one of the wealthiest Irish settlers in Argentina dies in Buenos Aires (1909).

1910s

- John Lalor (1860-1931) opens his cattle auctioneer business in Buenos Aires (1910).

- Padraic MacManus launches *Fianna*, a nationalistic newspaper addressed to Irish Argentines (1911).
- Within the context of the Anglo-Argentine support to the British forces in the World War I, several Irish Argentines enrol in the British Army. Pedro Ricardo Meehan (1890-1972), and Gerald I. N. Deane (1886-1962) serve in the Royal Air Force (1914).
- During the Easter Rising, Argentine-born Eamon (Eduardo) Bulfin (1892-1968), son of the writer William Bulfin, rises the Irish flag in Dublin's General Post Office building. After the surrender, the death sentence is pardoned owing to his Argentine citizenship but he is expelled from the British Isles. Later Eamon de Valera will appoint Bulfin as the first diplomatic representative of Ireland in Buenos Aires (1916).
- The size of the Irish-Argentine community is estimated on 30,000 for the city of Buenos Aires and 80,000 outside the city, in the whole Republic (1917).
- Thomas Murray's *The Story of the Irish in Argentina* is published in New York by P.J. Kenedy & Sons. The book's reception in Argentina is rather cold but it elicits some articles in Ireland (1919).

1920s

- The Irish flag is shown for the first time in Buenos Aires during a demonstration of Irish-Argentines and "friends of the Irish freedom", who rallied through the streets up to Plaza de Mayo (1920).
- The "Irish Race Congress in South America" is held in Buenos Aires with over fifty delegates. A grant is established to students of Spanish in the National University of Ireland (1921).
- Frank W. Egan is the Irish Republic representative in Chile (1921).
- After his mission in South Africa, Patrick J. Little is sent to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile as the diplomatic envoy of the Irish Free State (1921).
- First Hurling Championship won by The Wanderers, seconded by the Capilla Boys (1922).
- New wave of Irish emigration to Argentina owing to social upheaval in Ireland, particularly young professionals and employees from Cork and Dublin, some with Church of Ireland background (1923).
- Tomás Keating founds Keating town in Chacabuco, Castilla railway station (1923).
- The Argentine polo team wins a Gold Medal in the Olympic Games in Paris. Two of the four players are Irish Argentines Juan Nelson and Arturo Kenny (1924).
- The Passionist Sisters arrive in Buenos Aires and open the Michael Ham Memorial College for girls (1926).

1930s

- Juan O'Leary's *El héroe del Paraguay* published in Asunción (1930).

- Sean Healy (1894-1982), a chemist from Galway who was teaching in the English High School since 1928, opens St. Cyran's School of Buenos Aires (1934).
- Barbara Peart's *Tia Barbarita: Memories of Barbara Peart* published in Boston by Houghton Mifflin (1934).
- *Edificio Kavanagh* in Buenos Aires, the tallest building in Latin America at the time of its completion, is commissioned by Corina Cavanagh (b1910), daughter of Juan José Cavanagh and Luisa Juana MacKeon (1934).
- Guillermo Furlong, S.J. (1889-1974) is appointed member of the national academy of history. Fr. Furlong is a prolific historian and geographer, who published over 2,000 studies - including more than 100 books - on music, libraries, architecture, mathematics, medicine, and natural history (1939).

1940s

- Carlos Viván "El Irlandesito" (born Miguel Rice Tracy) publishes his tango *Moneda de cobre*, with lyrics by Horacio Sanguinetti (1942).
- Edelmiro Juan Farrell (1887-1980) is sworn Argentine President after leading a pro-Axe military coup d'état. General Farrell will be fundamental on the rise of Juan D. Perón to the highest office (1944).
- Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back* published in Boston by Bruce Humphries. The book was completed by her sister Winnie (1946).
- An Irish commercial mission led by L. H. Kerney visits Argentina to buy wheat. An Irish chargé d'affaires, Matthew Murphy, is appointed latter in the year (1947).
- Maria Elena Walsh's *Otoño imperdonable* published in Buenos Aires (1947).
- Cardenal Newman school of the Christian Brothers opens in Buenos Aires (1948).
- Half of the players in the Argentine hockey team in the Olympic Games in London are from the Hurling Club (1948).

1950s

- James M. Ussher's *Father Fahy: a Biography of Anthony Dominic Fahy, O.P., Irish Missionary in Argentina (1805-1871)* is published in Buenos Aires.
- Juan O'Gorman completes the painting of the Central Library in the campus of Universidad Autónoma de Mexico, covering 4,000 square meters of historical scenes (1953).
- Christian Brothers' Stella Maris school opens in Montevideo with Br. Patrick Kelly as the first schoolmaster (1955).
- Lorenzo McGovern is appointed to the Argentine mission in Dublin (1955).
- Rodolfo Walsh's *Operación Masacre* published in Buenos Aires (1957).
- Edmundo O'Gorman's *La invención de América* published in Mexico (1958).

- The *Horan Report* is received in Dublin from the Irish chargé d'affaires in Buenos Aires, Timothy Horan (1958).

1960s

- Michael J. Siejes is appointed first honorary consul of Ireland in Rio de Janeiro. Later, Pádraig de Paor is the first non-resident Irish ambassador accredited to Brazil (1964).

- The Irish mission in Buenos Aires is upgraded to embassy-level. Michael Leo Skentelberry is appointed the first ambassador (1964).

- Ernesto "Che" Guevara lands in Shannon airport with other officers of the Cuban government.

- Miguel Fitzgerald (b. 1926) flies twice to the Falkland Islands from the continent (1964, 1968).

- Air force officer Eduardo F. McLoughlin (b. 1918) is appointed Argentine ambassador to Britain (1966).

- John Joseph Scanlan opens St. Brendan's College in Buenos Aires (1966).

- Christian Brothers John Johnson, Dominic Sanpietro, and James Barry take over the school Mundo Mejor in Lima, Peru (1969).

1970s

- Luis Alberto Murray's *Pro y contra de Sarmiento* published in Buenos Aires (1974).

- An Irish trade mission led by Robin Bury visits São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The Irish embassy is established in Brazil (1975).

- The Massacre at St. Patrick: in San Patricio parish church of Buenos Aires, a navy death squad kills five members of the Pallotine community, including Alfie Kelly (parish priest), Alfredo Leaden, Eduardo Dufau, Emilio Barletti, and Salvador Barbeito (1976).

- Writer and journalist Rodolfo Walsh (1927-1977) dies in a military operation (1977).

- The Irish embassy is established in Mexico (1977).

1980s

- John Walter Maguire's *La pezuña de oro* published in Buenos Aires (1980).

- Hilda Sabato and Juan Carlos Korol's *Cómo fue la inmigración irlandesa a la Argentina* published in Buenos Aires (1981).

- John Brabazon's memoirs are published in Spanish translation by Eduardo Coghlan, *Andanzas de un irlandés por el campo porteño* (1982).

- During the Falklands War, Irish and Irish-Argentine soldiers fight in both sides of the conflict. Translation is one particularly skilled service rendered by many Irish Argentines. In

the European Commission, Ireland supports the removal of economic sanctions on Argentina (1982).

- Eduardo A. Coghlan's *Los Irlandeses en Argentina: su Actuación y Descendencia* is published in Buenos Aires. The volume includes more than 4,000 Irish families and their ancestors (1987).

1990s

- Maria Elena Walsh's *Novios de Antaño* published in Buenos Aires. A chapter includes family letters describing the life of Anglo-Irish railway workers in 1880s Argentina (1990).

- Peadar Kirby's *Ireland and Latin America: Links and Lessons* published by Trócaire in Dublin (1992).

- Juan José Delaney's *Tréboles del sur* published in Buenos Aires (1994).

- The Associação Brasileira de Estudos Irlandeses at the University of São Paulo publishes the first issue of the *Brazilian Journal of Irish Studies*, edited by Munira H. Mutran and Laura P. Z. Izarra (1999).

2000s

- Martin Greene, first resident ambassador of Ireland to Brazil arrives in Brasilia (2001).

- Two thousand Argentines with Irish ancestry submit a petition to the Irish government demanding Irish nationality based on *ius sanguinis* claims (2002).

- The Society for Irish Latin American Studies (SILAS) opens with members from six countries (2003).

- John Cribbin O.M.I., of Shanagolden, county Limerick, is awarded honorary citizenship of Rio de Janeiro for his 40-years missionary work in Brazil (2004).

- Presumed IRA members Niall Connolly, Martin McCauley, and James Monaghan are sentenced to seventeen years service by an appeal court in Colombia which found them guilty of training FARC guerrillas (December 2004).

APPENDIX C: LETTERS TO MARTIN MURPHY, 1844-1881

This appendix includes the letters of the Murphy family of Wexford and Argentina. I published and analysed some of these letters in *Becoming Irlandés: Private Narratives of the Irish Emigration to Argentina 1844-1912* (Buenos Aires: Literature of Latin America, 2006), together with selected documents from other collections. The complete collection of the Murphy letters as it is included here has not yet been published in book or any other format.

John Murphy to Nicholas Murphy, 15 April 1844

Liverpool

Dear Father and ever affectionate Mother,
I am happy to make known to you that our fortunes have not turned out as we expected but have made a greater progress to our happiness than we expected. I did not think that we had such friends in Liverpool. They are not only friends to us but to all Irishmen, especially to staunch Repealers and Teetotallers. I have the pleasure of telling you all that we are in the best of spirits and expect to meet with good fortune wherever we go. I have not language to express the kindness of Mr James Pettit of Haysland, which all the people in Kilrane must be under a great obligation to him. We are all in good health thanks be to God and I hope this letter will find all in Kilrane the same. Tell Mary Pender that James desired to be remembered to her and he expects to hear in the answer to this letter that she is much better in health and spirits than when he last saw her. I desire to be remembered to my friends Mr and Mrs John Breen and the rest of my friends and townsmen. We have got our berths in the vessel on Monday and expect to sleep in her until we sail. I would have written yesterday if it were for John O'Connor writing. But I expect to have an answer in or about Saturday, and any particulars you have to send I would feel a pleasure in receiving it. And likewise John Connor and William Whitty desired you to tell their parents to send them an answer if they think well of it, as they forgot telling them in their own letters. Mr Pettit have brought down the passage money to ____ that pay here and on the ____ £18 ____ one of the finest and quickest passages that have been made this long time as we are employed so busily that that I cannot write a proper letter now but I feel to be excused for this time. I do not think I'll write until I reach Buenos Ayres. Then I will send a proper letter of our adventures on our passage. Direct your letter as thus: to the care [of] Mr James Sanders C/O, 9 and 10 Hackins Hay, Deal street. For John Murphy

John Murphy to Nicholas Murphy, 1844?

[torn]

So I congratulate with you in offering thanks to My Heavenly Father for the many favours bestowed on me, and I conclude in offering a prayer for the spiritual and temporal welfare of

all friends and wishing the best farewell to you dear parents, that possess the dearest love and whole affection of your obedient and ever dutiful son,
John Murphy, Junior
Buenos Ayres

I will write in the course of a few days to Mrs. Breen and my brother William.

Direct your letter to the care of Mr. Patrick Fleming for [John Murphy].

Fr Edward Kavanagh to Catherine Murphy, 1 February 1853

Buenos Aires

My dear Madam,

Your son John requested of me to engage a passage for a son and a daughter of yours out to Buenos Aires for the barque “William Peil”, Captain John Bell. She will sail from Liverpool for Buenos Aires about the 1st April. I have written to Captain Sprott of Liverpool, the owner, and engaged a free passage for your son and daughter, and you may expect a letter from him in due time appraising you of it, and of the day of the “William Peil” sailing from Liverpool. Your son John intended sending you a small sum as a token of his affection, but as there is a revolution here at present, and no business doing, a bill of exchange can not be got. You may however expect his remittance by the first packet, which sails after business opens here. I have much pleasure in informing you of the good health of your sons John and William. John is perfectly independent and William is this year establishing himself through the instrumentality of John with a flock of sheep, which is the chief way of getting on in this country. John and William are esteemed and respected by all who know them, and are a credit to Wexford. Robert Hore, son of Stephen Hore, generally stops with them. There is nothing particular here to communicate, which interests you, more than that this country is at present in a state of revolution, and consequently a total cessation of business of every kind. Foreigners of course take no part in it, and are therefore safe. You need have no anxiety regarding your sons. With sincere respect I am, dear Madam,

Very truly yours

Edward Kavanagh
Chaplain to the Irish
Buenos Aires

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 July 1862

San Martín, Salto

Dear Brother Martin,

It's now some time since I heard directly from you and full time indeed that I should think of dropping you a few lines in the hope of receiving the like from you in due time. I've the pleasure of informing you that all friends ere are well and going on well. This winter has come in most favourable. In the month of March sheep-farmers were quite down in spirits from the bad appearance of the camps, but we have been favoured with plenty of rain with mild weather up to the end of June, so that the pasture got strong and beyond the danger of injury by the severe frosts which have now set in. I think we can count on this winter being

favourable than I have thought. It is our due for I do assure you these years past were severe enough, and many have been at great losses. This country has got quite a bright appearance, and it's the firm opinion of all that many years will see it enjoy the same tranquillity if blessed with a lasting peace. By the end of a few years we will expect to travel to Buenos Aires the most of the distance by train. There has been proposals made to extend the one on this side, and others for commencing new ones. Buenos Aires it's thought will be the Capital although the bill has to be read. It's thought we can count on carrying it through. I suppose you now and then see a paper from Buenos Aires, our invincible "Standard" I hope you have the pleasure of seeing for it gives a full and true account of everything most interesting to foreigners in this country and their friends in the old land. Dear Martin, I suppose you know the whole particulars about the place I am now living in. I've got some hard knocks from John. I may have merited them and if I have it, [it] has been by looking too much to his interest in expecting a more favourable time to send his money. And to the advice of our nearest friends that the ounces "must come down", before God I can declare that the idea of keeping back his money to lay it out to my own benefit never once crossed my mind. Nor had I the remotest thoughts of buying land until the 11th or so in the month of February, nor then until I weighed well the difficulties I was liable to meet with against the many advantages in my favour by buying an article that at any moment I can make sale of to advantage even a few days after I settled for it. I could have disposed of it at 70,000 gains. It's as good land as there is to be ~~got~~ found, well watered and suitable for sheep. My flocks are doing very well. Before I part with the land I will first sell my sheep to a tail. But I've got hopes of being able to rise money on it. If so, I shall be all right for the sheep will give me much more than will cover the interest and expenses. For instance, ask James what his brought for the last two years. And you will have an idea of what is to be made by sheep. I managed John's flocks to the best advantage I could, and I hope he will be satisfied with the changes made, for I looked to his interest in them all by me leaving Uncalito. I've made more room for John on it to get along. Patt has for the first time every prospect of doing well. Out of 17 [torn] sheep he has on first lambing 492. For his time with sheep he has been very unlooky [unlucky] but I hope the change is now for the better. Mary's sister is with her yet and I suppose will remain until shearing to go to town. Cathy Cormack has been more than fortunate in obtaining one of the best situations in town, where many young women for some years in the country are many months during the year out of situation owing to their having to leave them. She is very comfortable, has 200 \$ per month, a good room to herself, her choice of having a good companion, and so well liked by her Mrs (who is gone to England), that she has already received a present from her. She is looking very well and gets good health, hoping to wishing to be remember to all I remain your dear brother,

William Murphy

P.S.: I did not think I was so near the end of my paper. I hope Margaret will not think bad of me [for] not mentioning her, but although I name you it's meant for her also. I was sorry to hear of Uncle John's death. I hope they are all well. Will you tell John if he has got about 2 £ convenient, gives it to Matty Pierce of the Barracks? If not convenient, let him not give it. Also if convenient to James Murphy father, of Ballygeary, from 5 to 30 £ he will do a great favour to James but to me not the least.

W. M.

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 July 1863

Dear Brother Martin,

Many months has lapsed since your letter came to hand, which I should long since have answered had I anything worth relating you. There has been no letter from John these last months. I think there is likely to be one missing as he was likely to write on receiving the money. We are all well here and going on well. We have been blessed with a fine winter, plenty of frosts, but in this part we have pasture quite different for the flocks. Yet in other parts flocks have had to be moved for want of pasture. So you may perceived that seasons here as in Ireland are quite uncertain. I know some countrymen who moved from the South on account of the ____ness of the land to the North, where they met the long droughts the cause of severe losses ad poor men. The thistle these last years has been great against the increase of sheep. Flocks in many parts are quite at a stand still for those three last years. My flocks appear to do very well this year. The first lambing came in a good season. I am loosing an odd lamb by the frost, which we have had these past five weeks for a continuance. I am working away employing myself as best I can to make the dollars all my exertion will be needed to meet the great demands on me. James Furlong has acted very generous with me by allowing me the use of his money. I owe John a good sum but it's uncertain when he may call for it. Having now learnt the way business is chiefly carried on in this country I hope to be able to do things more easier in future. Last packet to England carried better news from this country than the previous one. It seems that peace for some time at least is certain in Bs. As. Our troops are returning to their old quarters, having quelled the revolution in Cordova. Flores is yet in Montevideo. We can now judge what the country people have to meet with from the hands of those ruffian soldiers, for my experience in this country has given me a good chance of learning. We had three horrible murders last month. One an Irishman [from] Westmeath, knifed by another. The others, a shipmate of arms Mr. Kirby (Dublin) and servant, by a gaucho-native, the wife escaping through the dark. This ruffian committed the deed for the purpose of plundering the house, the family appearing always respectable and such deeds we could often report to you. But I deem it wiser to keep people in Ireland from knowing the value set on lives in this country. Dear Brother, do me the favour to tell John to write to Captain Sanders, and see if he will bring out Matthew Pierce's son Matt. I wrote through Mr. Butler to Sanders but received no answer from him, nor am I sure that he received my letter. I mentioned to young Pierce a few kinds of seeds which I like to get. Will you oblige me in case John can procure a passage for him to see that he brings them. I forgot to mention 2 penny worth of cabbage seed (two kinds), which you will be kind enough to procure for him. There are many things to be got at home, which we have no chance of procuring in this country, but which would be very answerable for it. Let me know what you think of making a trip to this country. Should your leg yet continue to annoy you, perhaps it would be the means of curing it. I have been often thinking of you and Alice Breen, how much you must have suffered. But the hopes of getting well lessen very much the pain. It is painful to think that you cannot find a cure for them in Ireland. I am sure could the prospect of been cured to held out to you by a trip to this country, that you both would willingly undertake it. But the hope of one day finding ourselves better is often the means of keeping us for years as we are. Patt and family are all well. Anne is in Bs. As. in a situation. Kate is first rate and getting on well. She has only been asked once in marriage. She has got time enough to get into trouble. Mary Furlong is now at Patt's, as she wished to be near George. Wishing to be kindly remembered to all friends, James, Bess and family, John, and now your only company Margaret. I could wish to see you all in this country but it's so unlike in many respects to poor Ireland that I am forbid the wish. Adieu, I remain dear brother, yours affectionately,

William Murphy

P.S. If you can procure any kind of shrub seeds, such as one mixed with hedges, send me a trifle. Also a little Verbena seed, if such is to be got. W.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 13 November 1863

Lisbon, 12 o'clock Noon

Dear Friends,

I take this hurried opportunity of informing you that we have arrived safe here at present in good health, but the mood of all on board having suffered much from say sickness since we left Southampton. Dear brother, I received your letter after coming on board I am satisfied as regards the barns purchased &c. Do as you think best in these matters. I shall defer any particulars as to the passage until I reach Buenos Aires. I am about going on shore now to post this letter and to see the town, the particulars of which I shall give you hereafter. There were about 100 first class passengers sat down to dinner the first day, but since there has been very few at table owing to the say sickness. Dear friends, I must cut this short as all is topsyturvy. Adieu dear friends and believe me to be your dear brother,
John Murphy

I got no letter or message from you since I came here. We leave now and God be with you all.
Your dear John.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 November 1863

Friday, St. Vincent, Cape Verde Islands

My dear and affectionate friends,

The idea of letting this opportunity pass without writing to you would be trouble hereafter knowing as I do, that you are always desirous to hear from me. In this I intend to give you some account of my passage up to here, but it must be a brief and as simple as possible. When I arrived in Southampton I found I could not secure my passage owing to the books being then in London and on Saturday morning the books came to Southampton and I then took a cabin with two others at £55 each, the one a German the other an Englishman residing in Pernambuco.

The packet [is] a splendid paddle steam ship that can accommodate about 300 passengers (first class), and I expect half that number of steerage passengers left the docks on Saturday night and remained about two miles down the river until Monday. We the passengers went on board at 12 o'clock and the mails, about fifty bags, was put on board about two at which hour she started on her voyage with 118 first class and about 26 second class passengers. The dining saloon of this magnificent ship is about 26 yards long with two tables that extend the full length at which sat 96 individuals male and female to dine at 5 o'clock the first evening. The day was very fine and everyone appeared buoyant and in good spirits, with the prospect of a safe and pleasant voyage before him. But the next morning found a great many in their bed (myself amongst the rest) as the sea became heavy and came on to her side, which occasioned her to roll very much. This continued until Wednesday morning, the sea increasing as we approached the Bay of Biscay, the wind still holding to the West, which let the sea into her side and washing completely over her, which left it almost impossible for

even the hands to work the ship. The deck which stood about 25 feet above the sea was not visited by a single passenger while passing the Bay of Biscay. On Friday morning those that were able go on deck found themselves in sight of land proceeding along the coast of Portugal with the sea much moderated. When this was announced to the passengers in bed the most of them endeavoured to get up the weather improving as we must, that by 12 October, when we reached the harbour of Lisbon, all hands were on deck and many of them already prepared to go on shore, I amongst the rest (though still weak from the sailing of the previous days) accompanied the rest to the shore to see the curiosities of this place and its people.

The principal part of the city is very beautiful, the streets wide and well paved, the houses high and nicely ornamented, the squares and promenades are paved in patterns with different colour stones and set off with works of aesthetic splendour. In approaching its shores the first curiosity is the number of windmills that is to be seen on every direction with peculiar shaped sails like a half diamond and I believe every farm house has a mill attached to it. The farmers all grind their own wheat both for use and for sale. The appearance of the country from the sea is very barren and mountainous, with neither the prospect of being a tillage or grazing land. We here landed some passengers and the mails, and took on board others with about 700 tons coal and 110 passengers. The latter thronged the ship so much that there has to be two rounds of breakfast and dinner with about 100 at each. Saturday 14th about 9 A.M. we started, being a fine day. We enjoyed the scenery of the harbour very much, which is in itself very beautiful. About 12 o'clock we met the French packet from Buenos Ayres and saluted her, and proceeded on our voyage with scarcely a breeze. Sunday after breakfast the officers and hands on board were mustered on deck in their uniform, their names called over and then marched down to the saloon and prayers read for them by the Parson and to all others who wished to attend (being a week at sea). The rule is that plays and other amusements begin. Dancing commence every evening after tea to the music of the band belonging to the ship. Tuesday 17th we sighted the peak of Tenerife, which one would imagine that it was a point of cloud appearing through the others and beneath the mountain that support it there was a large steam [?] ship close to the shore which we afterwards discovered to be a Spanish frigate of war, the officers and men were all surprised to think the Spaniards should have such a fine large ship in their fleet. Wednesday 18th. There is not a ripple in the sea if you could just give a peep on board you would find in all parts of the ship some play as pastime going on. Several of the young men and women passengers has got up a theatre to act in the first part of the night. The programme is indeed very amusing and better than you would often find from professionals. They perform 4 acts every night and when that finishes the dance continues up to 12 or 1 o'clock.

Thursday and Friday. Very fine and exceedingly warm, we had some heavy thunder yesterday, and today some showers. We had sight of St. Vincent this evening. It's now 10 o'clock P.M., and we expect to meet the mail packet far from about 11 o'clock, so that I must close my letter before actually arriving at where it's dated from in order to send it by her as I shall have no other opportunity until I reach Buenos Ayres. You will be glad to know that I am getting good health much better than I expected so you must content yourself with this hurried scribble and I shall endeavour to give you a better and more satisfactorily account of the remainder of the voyage. So farewell dear friends and I remain as ever your affectionate brother, John Murphy
I wrote from Lisbon

J. Kennedy (National Bank Ltd.) to Martin Murphy, 23 November 1863

Dear Sir,

I have received the transfer deed of ten National Bank of Liverpool shares and hold it for your signature to be received here.

Yours faithfully,
J. Kennedy

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 24 November 1863

San Martín, Salto

Dear Brother,

I received a letter by Frank Doyle from James Furlong. Tell him that I shall answer him and comply with his request about Xmas. I had but a few moments conversation with Frank. I just reached Buenos Aires at 8 o'clock the night previous to their leaving, which was lucky as I took some trouble off Kate. I had my wool in early and sold it at \$82. Were it not that it was full of burrs I would have got a much better price. Patt is in town at present. I think that he will get much better price. I have the pleasure of informing you that I am at last married. It took place on the 17th inst. I delayed it a week thinking that John would be in the packet as he previously wrote that he would leave by the packet of October. I may safely say that I now commence life anew, and I hope you will bless us. How happy would this news have ~~been~~ made poor Mother had God only spared to hear of it. I well remember how she felt at my last parting. May God have mercy on her. I expect a prayer from you all for us. I first got acquainted with this young woman about nine months since on her landing in Buenos Aires. She is niece to Father Reville: Eliza Roach, Tullacams, who by an importunate Father, have been compelled to leave a once happy home. Father Fahey did us the greatest kindest. He celebrated the marriage Mass for us and also think it must have been he that got it in the paper. I enclose you the clip that you may through James or John have it inserted in the Wexford paper. You will ask them to do me favour as I've got a motive for having it to appear in the Wexford paper. I enclose you a photograph we have taken rather for a part for husband and wife but it was taken previous to our marriage. We had no wedding. Kate and a young man were all we had. We left town for outside the same day, and we arrived home safely, where I expect to spend many happy days, for me at least the change is great. When I leave home now, I will at least leave one interested after me. Excuse me dear Brother if I have dwelt too long on this subject but now I must leave it. The drought is yet continued. If no rain comes soon, people will be badly off camps inside are very short of pasture. But here we are better off. I see by last papers that Crosstown is not sold yet. I expect John will lease on it. I am glad that he is coming out for I doubt if Patt and he would agree long. I thought that you and Margaret would likely come with him but as I have not heard anything of it I must leave it so. Since John left here, this country has greatly altered. People look to comfort much more and live more like home. With kindest remembrance to all friends in Kilrane, Ballygeary, and Haysland. Brothers and sisters ____ and wishing you all to accept Eliza's kindest regards. I remain your ever affectionate Brother,
William Murphy

J. Kennedy (National Bank Ltd.) to Martin Murphy, 25 November 1863

Dear Sir,

I have received the letter of application for ten New National Bank of Liverpool shares, for which you will require to lodge £60 and sign the application. Waiting for your attention,

Yours faithfully,
J. Kennedy
[forwarded to]
Señor Don Juan Murphy
Flor del Uncalito, Partido Salto
Buenos Ayres, South America

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 5 December 1863

Rio de Janeiro,

Dear Brother and Friends,

The part of this letter dated from St. Vincent was written with a view of sending it by the packet we were to meet there. But having missed her during night I had to enclose by this although not as well as should wish it done yet far the improvement I can make in it. It's not worth while to commence writing it over again but shall commence with a few remarks of the voyage from that date. We left St. Vincent on Saturday 4 o'clock P.M., crossed the Line Thursday 26th, sighted the coast of Brazil 28th, arrived in Pernambuco 29th, left there same evening, arrived in Bahia on 30th, left there on 1st December, and arrived here Rio de Janeiro on Friday 4th in good health and spirits, thanks be to God. I have been on shore at all the above mentioned places and I must say that they present a great of scenery and romantic curiosity to the stranger. Those countries all are very mountainous, and the difficult streets of the cities can be only traversed by means of chairs carried by negroes. There are an abundance of all kinds of fruit, and the natives are clothed with scarcely enough to cover them. The ship we arrived here in, named the Paraná, proceeds no further than here. She is met here by the Mercy, that trades between here and Bs. As. She brings the mail from Bs. As. and then they are conveyed home by the ship that brought us out. We proceed from here for Bs. As. on Monday 7th, and expect to be in Bs. As. on Sunday 13th. I shall write from there by the first packet and let you know how all friends are. After getting on so well this voyage I shall not think so much of making one hereafter. From the hubbub that's on board it's almost impossible to write any thing, so you must content yourself with the present. I should nor have written at all under such circumstances were it not that I promised to write on every opportunity. There are six prisoners going home by this packet, to be tried by the laws of England, for having murdered the Captain, Mate, cook and some sailors on board an English ship off on the coast, or in the River Plate. They are chiefly not Englishmen as I believe none of them.

Dear friends, I must conclude by wishing this may find you all in good health which will ever be the prayers of your dear and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

J. Kennedy to Martin Murphy, 24 December 1863

Dear Sir,

The transfer of ten National Bank Liverpool shares (original, To you was at this office for your signature. It would be desirable if you come in on Saturday next.

Yours truly,
J. Kennedy

John Murphy to James Furlong, 22 December? 1864

Uncalito

Dear Brother James,

Your letter of 6th March I received on the 8th May, and am glad to hear you say that you are now very comfortable. I, as you are now in a position to start on that the Almighty will assist in realizing something adequate to the amount already laid out. I think if you may ever hope to do that you shall soon know on a year or two will disclose the mystery. But I see but little reason for the tenant farmers of Ireland to indulge themselves with these hopes, as I think they cannot make out of the land the amount that is necessary to keep them living (even) comfortable. However I will not say that such cannot be done but I assure you would take a better head than mine to see how it is to be effected unless the things change very much. I am glad to see that the cattle are doing well and that you have lost so few for the year. You will have a great trial this year of what can be made by performing in Ireland. I hope it will pay better than my fears suggest (a burnt child dreads the fire). From the way you speak of Mr. Sinnott, Crosstown, I am lead [*sic*] to believe that he is intent to make every inch of land pay, as he is dying up trees and corners about the town. If stand on him to do so to be able live in it the fortune he is expecting will put him on his feet.

Buenos Ayres, 22nd.

I am now arrived in the city and find no change since I last left it more than that the times look better as the two government parties are come to settlement with regard to the elections which was a source of a great many evils in this country. During these cursed elections, which last here about four months, everything else is neglected. Robbers and murderers march about in safety as there are none of government parties wish to interfere about such trifles as such is the view they take of there matters here. But the account that Mulhall give of the murders and robberies about Bs. As. is very much exaggerated as if he was seeking to frighten the government or the people into some extraordinary changes. Your friends out here are desirous that you would send out yourself and Bessie likeness on one card. We have requested of Martin and Margaret to do the same, but mind that you have no button loose in your dress as before. I expect you will be sending me instructions to put the money that will coming to you from here at interest while it pay so well as you will be able likely to leave that much by for the future each year.

Dear James, we are all here in good health and we hope this will find yourself and family in the enjoyment of the same blessing, and all wish to be kindly remembered to you, and not to forget that myself remain as ever your true and sincere friend and brother,

John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, ? 1864

Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

I wrote you a long letter by the March packet and since then I have written to Dr Crean & Rev. James Roach P.P. Wexford as having received one from the latter gentleman soon than after my arrival to this country accompanying with a card as usual, which we cannot at present think of collecting on. Dear Friends, My previous letter contained a great deal about this country, and the prospects that is now before us. The people are flocking here from all parts, many without money, others with capital, of which there is a great field open here for

investment. The investment of capital in land & sheep and the business is considered so safe now a days, that the foreigners with money and those that can get it even at high interest, are eating up all before them. This business would have been still carried on to a greater extent were it not for the last extremely bad season that prevailed through almost all parts of this country (I mean the drought, which still prevails in many parts of this) yet ~~still~~ delightful country, owing to this reason I've had to exert myself pretty well as I am not one that can look on in a pinch when I see every one doing their utmost, but we have been somewhat relieved these last fine days by a shower that gave the sheep water in the camps, and from the appearance of the weather I hope we are done with the seca. But the interest desired and obtained in this country are so remunerative that it make labours light and toil an interesting object. Just imagine my income for last year calculating increase at its average value, and wool for what it brought clear of all expenses on the establishment to be 1,280 £. Now just imagine for a moment how hard it would be for a man to turn his back or even dispose of a property so remunerative wherein all moneys men in the country are endeavouring to catch a half of it. It's an old saying once a man lets his fortune out of his hands he is seldom permitted to take hold of it again. You may say that I have enough to live where I like by selling it off and come home, but first just consider that your positions are at home and how your holdings are a mere source of slavery. Secondly, if you could only consider the real state of both countries, you would naturally say what could be the object of making a choice of that country wherein I should be only a looker on at your toiling ill-fed and ill-paid industry. Of course this country has its own inconvenience and new comers frequently entertain strong feeling on their arrival. But in a year or two these notions vanish and people only then come to see the great preference this country is entitled to. Now if I think of going home next year as I promised and not to sell off my property here (which I consider would be a very foolish act) what must the consequence be. Why inevitably the case would be that I should soon return again [*Marginal note*]: Tell Dr Crean & Rev. J. Roach that we have no convenience of paying the postage of letters home. [*continues main text*] as experience teaches me that living at home leaves me too far distance from my business in this country, which from what I've already stated you could not imagine but that I should be a fool to do so. I am well aware that your desire that I should live amongst you are such as will lead you to think that I ~~should~~ under any circumstances I might remain at home and my desires in this respect are no less great but what to determine as is. Whether is this country or that we should choose to pass together the fine happy years that may be yet left us. In this country we live like fighting cocks, plenty of the best of mutton any way you choose to cook it, in every house, particularly those with a family, has plenty of fowl, eggs, milk, butter, catchup, daily of their own making, and brings from town each year a supply of all the other necessities, even English sauce, pickles & CC, which is before us every day with plenty of all sorts of vegetables and potatoes, the latter two crops in the year. I seldom sit down to dinner that I do not think of you all, particularly of James, that has often times to stand up from his meals hungry, and not having food suitable to his taste, and has to accompany his men in that rough way which only few constitutions can bear, and not speaking at all of the thousand other difficulties that farmers has to put up with in having the deal with the class of servants that is now only to be found in Ireland. I wrote the foregoing over night and as I suggested the rain has come at last. It commenced about 12 o'clock and from that till 8 next morning it fell in torrents leaving all in a sea, so as we need fear no want of water this year again. All we require now is that the frost will keep away for at least a month or two so as the pasture will get ahead against the winter set in. I am about doing a good deal of work on the Estancia. Next summer I am making arrangements to have 150 thousand bricks made. I am intent on making all bricks houses on the estancia and also a large house at the Estancia. James', Nick's and Patt's part of sheep leaving the establishment this year has relieved it. But I must either buy camp or sell sheep

before this time twelve months. The farmers will be difficult for me to effect as every one is with their mouths open to catch the first hint of camp being for sale. Dear Friends, I am sorry I did not bring out a Gig with me. The service such an article was to me at home was nothing in comparison to what it would be to me here. Horse riding is very heavy here, particularly during the summer season. It's often occasion not to delay doing some business that we have got to do as also from hearing Mass on Sundays, which otherwise we might had no proper means of proceeding. To get one made here would become very expensive, as a friend of mine paid 72£ for a wagon, a very common article. A gig that I would like to get it here, would no doubt cost about the same. I will see and arrange to get it out if you can only get it made and ship it to where you will be directed, and if I want to sell it hereafter I will make money on it. J.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 January 1864

Buenos Aires

My Dear Friends,

It is not worth while to give you an account of my passage from Rio de Janeiro to Buenos Aires. Suffice to say that I arrived safe on the 14th of December, blessed with beautiful weather with the barometer standing 90 degrees in the shade. I was happy to find on my arrival that my brother Patt had come into town the day previous with his wife to be confined, which took place on 3rd of January of a son, which they have named John Joseph William. They left town for outside on last Thursday 21st all well. I also found my friend Mr Butler and his family all in good health. The old couple as young in appearance as when I left, and the young members grown altogether out of my knowledge. I was received by them all very kindly and had to stop with them driving my stay in town of two weeks. William got married about a month previously to my landing. He had to come into town a month afterwards to receive the bills of the purchase of the land, so I hastened out to keep company with the Mrs until his return, as I knew she would feel lonely during his absence. I remained a week there until he returned and four days at Uncalito, which I found greatly changed. The mount or plantation has exceeded any thing I've ever seen with respect to the growth of the trees, and the appearance they give the place. After William came out I then return to town to stand ~~to~~ stand godfather for Patt's son which had been born during my stay in the camp. His name is John Joseph William. Dear Friends, I am sorry to say that I have arrived here in time to see one of the worst years that Buenos Aires ever experienced. I decline entering into the particulars at present until I see the result of the awful seca, which has already left many poor men without a head of sheep. Hundreds of thousands of sheep has already disappeared and still continue to disappear in hundreds daily. There are whole leagues of country left waste. The people has marched off to the frontiers with what is yet left them off ~~trouve~~ intending to travel on until they find something for them to eat as water as to drink, trying to save the few that is yet left them. Just imagine that there has been more sheep lost in all the dust storms this year than there has been lost in all the rain storms this last twenty years. Entire flocks with the people in charge of them has been smothered in these dust storms. The middle of the noon day has been frequently as dark as midnight. The candles lighting all through the day to enable them to do the work inside the house. The fathers & mothers of families had to remain up all night to save the soft children from smothering. All this proceeding from the camp not having a particle of any thing the earth produce either dry or green upon it. But thanks God it is not yet quite a general thing. The camps outside are yet holding out and I am glad to say that both William & me are some of the lucky few that their camp is yet holding out, and I think will unless the seca continue too long. Dear Friends, the times here are very much

altered since I left, particularly the seasons has altered more than any thing else. I might say there has not been a good season since I left. I don't think I've reason to act on William's suggestion as to selling Uncalito. I don't think there has any place in the country doing better. The flocks has increased well and the men interested are well pleased with their situation. I can also see that the people here has been attending very much to their comforts and social happiness, and has no such fears to apprehend as heretofore. They form such a strong body that it's some extraordinary circumstance that leave property now unsafe. The happy and contented appearance the people display to persons arriving in this country remove every fear of danger and that which I entertained at home. I now set down as a nervous weakness or fear. Dear Friends, I felt the heat very much at my arrival to this country, as it happened to be mid-summer, which season if I were to come out again I should endeavor to evade. But I am now getting accustomed to it, and like the young plant getting strong beneath its pleasing warmth, I feel as if I only wanted any thing here to make me happy and had I that here. I should have no trouble to make up my mind where to pass the remainder of my life, that is the society of you, my friends, that has been my comfort in the past and the object of my greater solicitude for the future. But this wish, this desire it's likely I now never hope to see carried out unless changes take place, such as will render it necessary for you to do so, however I wish you were here, or me there, that I might be happy amongst you. Tell Father Kavanagh & Father John Furlong that I am sorry that I cannot carry out the collections on the cards entrusted to me, owing to a very scandalous dispute that arose between the Irish clergy here relative to a Dr O'Reilly that came here on a mission to collect from the Cape of Good Hope. Another reason for me not collecting is that that there is no clergyman or priest in the neighbourhood we live now within sixty miles of us on any direction. The families within that space has not seen a priest this last two years or had an opportunity to attend to their spiritual duties. Just imagine how absurd it would be in me to collect for Churches at home wherein we have not the advantage of seeing a priest ourselves. I am sure if our good Bishop Dr Furlong only knew our situation here, I think he would send us a priest to comfort us, or if there is any charitable young priest that would undertake to come and relieve us I would willingly guarantee his expenses here and out to this country. Otherwise, I am sure the *Raymond* from Dublin will be glad to bring him out free of expense. Dear Friends, we have seen rains this last week but I fear they have not been general. However, as the weather has broken we may have more. Any news or particulars that the letter do not contain I shall endeavour to make it up in my next. I received your letter of Decr. 6th and also one from Father James Roach (Wexford), with a card to collect also. Tell him as above for not collecting on it. I enclose you the second bill of exchange for £ 145, Patt sending the first by last packet. Also a likeness of Patt, Mrs and their eldest daughter Catherine. Hoping this will find all friends in good health, I remain as ever your Dear Brother,
 John Murphy
 Respect to Dr Crean.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1864

Dear Brother, I thought it better to make a sort of a finish of the other part of my letter in case you think well of letting others than yourselves see it. But this I consider only fit for the ears of my own friends in Haysland, or at least the greater part of it. The business part I enter into first. With the plough, you will be pleased to send me out three men, as James, Joseph & Nick, leaving my place left me scarce of hands. I will mention one to you: Tom Lawler, that was with me in Crosstown. The other two may be of your own choice. Arrange with Captain Lenders of the *Raymond* Dublin. If you cannot get them cheaper by a Liverpool ship, *La*

Zingara, [which] will be in Liverpool about the same time. If there were any three or four men of respectable family coming out, and choose to come to Uncalito, it would save you the trouble of arranging about the others. If not the conditions to be understood with others are that they serve me fourteen months hire, and [I] pay all expenses committed with their coming but the passage money. We must raise the time of their servitude, on account of the exchange so high. You can send Jack Carr's son as one of the three, if he is as when I left. Send the plough in charge of one of them as if it was his own, so as it may pass without charge on the passage as his own luggage, or implements that he require. If you think well of paying the passage there, you can do so. If not arrange for it to be paid here by me. If you adopt the latter mode, enclose the order I send to whatever captain you are about to arrange with, as it may answer as a security. Dear Friends, you will likely know in the course of a year or two how things will do with you in that country and don't fret or be scared if you should fail in your endeavours to live comfortable and independent, for you have here before you friends, and the best country under the sun. My opinions and feelings of this country are very much altered since I left home, and the changes for the better has been greater than I could have expected them to be for the time. I see every man here that desire it on a direct race to independence, possessing all the comforts and happiness that any reasonable man might desire. The habits and customs of the people are greatly changed, and they have taught a good lesson by English and Irish which are now overrunning the country with their flocks. And the richest and most respectable natives can now see how money can be made, and has command to work tooth and nail. And wherever a piece of land is up for sale, it's an Irishman is sure to get it, as no other dare go to the figure it's now selling for. In fine, I must say it's only you Dear Friends being there that would occasion me ever to think of Ireland, that distressed and ever oppressed country. Dear Friends, I must say that my presence here was very much needed. Things was going on fully as bad as I expected, and brother William never gave charge to Patt, as he ought to have done for motives tending to his own interest, for which I assure you he has been extremely selfish, and during his time as manager here, he treated Patt with over due severity, and not even obliged him with things he required (though being mine) which strangers and neighbours felt a pleasure in doing. When leaving Uncalito he took with him five horses of mine and almost left them on foot. Patt has frequently asked him to send in one or two of the horses (though he had plenty of his own), but he never did. And I assure you I had to turn the rough to him before he would ever give them to myself. In fact, he has acted in a manner (not only in this case but in many others) that I can never more look upon him as a Brother may, even as a good neighbour or honourable man. I cannot think from what I've already seen by him, but that he is seeking reasons to separate himself from us. Now as he is got married, has an estancia, though he has 80,000 \$ dollars of mine in his possession, and has only paid 1/4 of purchase money yet out of his own pocket. This money of mine he has without interest, but now he need not expected any indulgence you need not let on, in your letters to him, that you hear any thing from this quarter. I am at present living with Patt and his family at Uncalito. I feel very happy and contented, and amuse myself by taking a ride round the puestos (houses) on the Estancia every day. This has been a very warm summer. The sun has been so strong that I have not been able [to] knock about much up to now, fearing I might get sun stroke as not being accustomed to such heat. I expect you have already hear of poor Robert Baggon's death from exposure to the weather, in moving with William the brother's sheep. It is awful what people suffered that had to move their flock, and the losses occasioned by so is immense. If the plough could be made to as to take it apart, and store away the small irons in a box, and to tie up the beam and handles together, they might be handier to bring out. Dear Brother, let me know all particulars of how the people and all things in general are going on at home, at Crosstown, both your own part and your neighbours, Ballyconnor & Haysland, of how the cattle has done with you, and how the young ones offer, of the National Bank

Liverpool & the Galloway line, how the hunter got on with Day and how Brian O'Lynn offer this year, and if the lameness is gone, if there is any sign of the spree at Kilrane. Tell them it's useless to think of collecting here now as they are collecting for a new church in Salto and for the Irish priest that has been sent to this neighbourhood. Matt Connor & Mrs went out to Jack when they arrived but remained only a few days when they returned again to town, and has now gone to work with the same man that John Howlin is with. I think Jack gave them no great reception. Old Barry is first rate doing as well as he likes. I have not yet seen him. James Murphy (Ten Acre) is about as big and as fat as the big man of Tagoat. These and all such make a lucky change when they leave there to come to this country to live on mutton. In conclusion, Patt, Mrs and all friends here send their best love and regards to you all and wishes to be remembered in your prayers. All the people that I know of is well, Peter Cormack had a narrow escape from lightning, so we cannot tell the moment we are called. Dear Friends, we solicit your prayers and don't imagine for a moment that you will be always remembered by your affectionate Brother, John Murphy

Note

Bs. Ayres 25th March 1864

If you choose to bring out to this country any passengers that my brother (Martin Murphy of Haysland) arrange for, I shall hold myself accountable for the payment of same on their arrival out here. John Murphy.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 March 1864

Uncalito

Dear Brothers, Sisters and Friends, As not having written by last packet I cannot for a moment think of letting this opportunity pass without opening to you my heart and concerning with you by the only means now left me. Were I only to mention how often my recollection flee to the society of my dear friends in Haysland, I am sure I might with justice say that there do no day pass without me visiting you, these and these only are the recollections that help to console me when oppressed with the thoughts of being thus separated from those friends that has so deservedly enjoyed the tenderest feelings this humble heart possesses. The thoughts of once more seeing you, either in this country or in that (as God may feel disposed to permit) will help to shorten the time of its arrival, and level the rugged road of life to the completion of that happy period. In every other respect (but these above mentioned), I must say I am extremely happy. I enjoy good health, and I hope this, as also all other letters will continue to find all friends at home in the enjoyment of the same Blessing, for which we hope to be over thankful to the God of Mercy that has been so extremely kind to us. Dear brother, before entering in to other topics, I wish to convey to you that it's my wishes that you should live happy, comfortable, and independent. You have no need to depend on Haysland for means to do so, as I know how hard it is to live comfortable in a farm of land. But you know that the money I left in your charge is at your service, and that I would sooner see the last farthing of it spent, than to know you need it. If the National Bank of Liverpool appears safe, you would do well to be prepared to meet every call they make. And if you are short of funds, either for that or any other purpose, don't neglect letting me know in time. If God is pleased to leave what he has already given me, I am sure neither of us may want, and I hope He may give us the Grace to make use of it as He desires. Dear Friends, Although this has been the worst year ever Englishmen witnessed in this country as regards the seca, which you must have already seen the awful description of it in the papers, yet our flocks did exceedingly well, considering

the large stock we had, and when the drought set in, which the following is a simple account of. When I arrived out to Uncalito, I was surprised at the great changes that time and Nature had produced, ~~most~~ particularly in the growth of the trees in the mount (plantation), as also the camp much improved, and decorated with 15,835 sheep, 10,500 of which is mine, the rest belongs to the posters in charge, each having his own respective part. They señaled (marked) for the year ending 1863, 5,389 lambs, and the total increase ~~for same year~~ over the principal of same year 4,208. There is of that increase 2,700 fall to my part, the rest to the men in care. The largest of the flocks has been relieved by James Murphy and Nick Pierce removing with this part to William's camp, the former on his own account renting camp with a principal 1,190. The latter as a medianero with William taken with him 450, he being on thirds with me. There is now in the Rincon flock 2,257 on thirds with Gregory Scallan, and has put in two years of the three, in which he has them. Though we have been lucky as to not having to remove our flocks, yet we cannot say that we are also fortunate in being blessed with the fine rains that has fallen in many other parts of the country. The rain here in summers are very uncertain, and generally fall in showers lasting from an hour to three, passing through a part of the country, leaving it flooded perhaps a mile wide. And quarter of a mile to either side not a drop felt. The neighbour's house in which I live (though being fortunate in other respects) yet had the misfortune of missing this that was this year so much needed. Though having fallen within a few miles on every side of us. We are still drawing water for both sheep and horses. The latter are the only animals now hard up for something to eat in order to be able [to] do their work, which on account of drought is heavy, with the disadvantages of having to be corralled at night, lest they be stolen, as no horses are safe now. Patt has also rented camp from William, and is about to move his part to there. George Furlong is to take charge of them on thirds. He take 1,590 sheep without his 1/5 of the increase on Uncalito for his services which remain here & amounts to about 600 for the year ending. Peter Cormack and Frank are going on well. They both wish to be remembered to you all. Say something of Frank's mother in your next. Katy Cormack sent home 8 £ to her father by last packet. I want you to send me out an iron plough. Get it made on the smallest scale possible, ~~and so as it can be taken apart and put together after getting it out here~~. Let it be worked, so as it will appear second-handed, as articles that has been used pay no duty here, which is very high otherwise. Send also ½ Dr Mettle socks with it, one dozen is sufficient, as we can get them made here. All here send their love and please accept also that of your Dear Brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 April 1864

Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

Your certainly cannot say but I am fond of letter writing as they have of late almost become troublesome to you. But I might have let this opportunity pass were it not for a message from James Murphy to his father, Uncle Patt, Ballygeary, requesting of me as a favour to give him thirty pounds. At present it's not convenient for me to send home the amount as all the spare money I have is in the hands of brother William. Therefore the only way I can oblige him is for you to give him twenty pounds or thirty if convenient. It's yourself that only know whether it's convenient or not, but it's likely they will require it by the time this reach you, to meet the half-year's rent that come due about this time. Holding in time the calls and other requirements that may be forth coming, and thinking it might be convenient to let him have it and he much in need of it the best way is to back a bill for him in the Bank and let him pay the interest until such times as James or me can send it from here. There is no doubt but such could be effected as I am here. Mr. Kennedy will take you a security for more than that

amount. Write by return of post and let us know how the thing has been arranged or if there has been any difficulty in doing it. I wrote by the French packet of this same month but I've since heard that letters were not in town in time to be posted by her. Therefore I send this with orders to have the others enclosed with it. The other letters contained a great deal about the things I wish you to send, which you will be pleased to carry out my instructions in all its points as far as you can with the exception of the metal socks. In place of metal socks send me two new iron ones well steeled, and one spare sole plate. You will be pleased also to send me two sets of cart harness, that is, two straddles, two collars of middle size, two pairs of harness, two bits horse, two pairs of winkers. There can be stored in the box with the gig harness. Let them be good articles and let them be either second handed, or if new, be a little used before you store them up to as they may pass without duty. All these things that come out in boxes may come in the name of the passenger's luggage.

Dear Friends, You will have no time to lose (after receiving this), but you will need to make a move to have things ready to start them from there as soon as possible, at least by the steamer of August next. I intend going to town in about a month time to see and arrange with their agent here for all that I've sent for, and I shall let you know as soon as I possibly can. Send me also a screw wrench so as it will fit the gig or any other nuts I may need it for, so as to have the articles I send for all before you.

I send you a list which is the following: A gig harness, wrench, a good double barrelled fowling piece from Anglim with powder flask shot, pouch and nipple screw. Let this last as also the other articles be more or less used so as to appear second-hand. The most of the articles can be properly packed in boxes so as to appear as luggage of the passengers. As to the men you are to send me, if you can make a better choice than those two I named don't hesitate to do so. Those reared most respectable at home generally turn out best here, though Brown is a good man and Frank Doyle has turned out exceedingly good. I have left by little room to say much of other matters. There is one thing I shall not cease to remind you often of the propriety of you coming to this country, and whenever you can spare an hour in considering over it I entreat of you as a friend not to look upon it as you were once wont to do. And as bringing up a family there can be no place better as children can have, see, or hear no bad example, unless from their parents and family alone, and the children that turn out bad it must be the fault of their parents, and I may say this is the general feeling of most people in this country now. If at any time you should take the notion of coming I shall feel happy to go home to see you out to this country. In conclusion I am happy to say that all out here are well and desire to be remembered to all friends. I often wished that poor little Willie and Kate had half the nice white bread that is thrown to the hens by the children here.

It may not be amiss to let you know that I can eat a good supper of mutton here before I go to bed, and be no worse for it.

Adieu Dear Friends, your prayers I solicit for the spiritual and temporal welfare of your dear loving brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 May 1864

Uncalito

My Dear Brothers & Sisters,

Dear Martin, I have had the pleasure of receiving yours and James' letters, and some of the papers. Others has gone astray. I am glad to see that things are going on well with you at home, and more particularly, that you all enjoy good health, this great blessing. We all here are in possession of also, thanks be to God for his Mercies. At present I have but little news to send you from the camps, but what my last letters contained more than that they have

improved very much and the pasture has grown exceedingly since the last rains. We have been, and will continue to be, very busy for some time getting to right things that through my absence heretofore has been neglected. I forgot to let you know before now of Robert Boggan demise. He died from fatigue and exposure at the time of his brothers moving his sheep. A man by the name of John Butler (Murntown) got married to Margaret Rochford about two months ago, and has since left her a widow himself & horse was killed by lightning. Cousin Peter Cormack had also a very narrow escape. He had to be carried into the house almost lifeless. Tell Father Kavanagh (Tagoat) & Father John Furlong that I don't think expedient to collect one their cards here at present, as we are at ~~present~~ now building a public school in Salto, and after that is finished, and is at present collecting to build a Chapel also, as Mass and all other religious sessionings is at present performed in a private house rented by the Municipality for that purpose, until the Church be built. We have at last got an Irish Priest amongst us. He resides at the village, about ten leagues from Salto, but Salto and another village ten leagues outside is included in his district also, and this places he visits once a month to Salto his Mission. Dear Brother, I am glad to see by the papers you sent me the National Bank Liverpool is not likely to be a failure. The account and the speeches at the General Meeting expect much of it. Consult Dr Crean and Mr Kennedy occasionally about. I think they won't deceive you. I see the Atlantics are done up. If there be anything coming to me out of it, do you take steps to obtain it, be the amount large of small. I am sorry to hear that the filly is still lame. I would approve of the idea of getting a foal out of her. Choose a strong boddied and limbed horse but not sluttish with some breeding. But don't get his father. Johnny Boggan might give you an idea of a horse. Patt's Mrs is extremely desirous and so are we all that you and Margaret would send us your likeness on cards, say half a dozen of each, for your friends out here, and also James & Bess another ½ dozen. The two can be taken together on each card. I would not recommend you Mrs McCabe, as I think there are others in Wexford that can take them better. Agree with the photographer to finish one first to see if you like it. Dear Brother, with respect to our friends of Kilrane it's only what you may ever expect from them, I would also suggest to you not to sacrifice too much of your natural independence for the sake of their friendship, as it ~~leaves~~ in doing so it leaves your own of but little value. Always support an honest independence and more particularly with those from whom you have never, nor need never expect any advantages, nay even I may say fair dealings from. Bs. Ayres, 26th May. Dear Brother, I am now in the city, about the same land and am likely to come to an arrangement about it. I have also spoke to the agents of the steamer but cannot agree as they take cash down. The *La Zingara* is going home but don't know if she be left before you can things ready to come by her. However, you will see through the advertisements what ships is to sail from Liverpool, and you can take a choice between them and the *Raymond*, but the latter is entitled to a preference, as captain Lenders keep the best rules, and most moral ship that ever came to this country. You are to arrange with the captain or owners of whatever ship you choose for the amount to be charged for all that you send me to be paid here by me at their arrival. I believe I have nothing more to say on this subject as this and my previous letters contain all that is necessary. If the coder that was made for the jaunting-car yet exist please send it out for the gig. Since I came into the city, I find the Mr O'Byrne, the Argentine Consul at Dublin, is came out to this country I believe to remain. And if the government has not yet appointed any person I think I shall stand a good chance but it is not to be counted on as sure, so we let it die for the present. James ask me what is Patagones. They are silver dollars value about 4s-2d each. Mr Roach, a brother to William's Mrs, he is to leave town with me on tomorrow for outside to William's. I send a Bill enclosed in this in favour of Moses Brown, Nick's father Kisha for 5£ five pounds. Bridget, his sister, is out at William's now. I expect to be in Buenos Aires again in about a fortnight's time, as I am now going out to see the land that I am in bargain for, and shall then

have to come in to arrange for it if I like it. It is close to my own place about six leagues, and I am told the best camp about there. It is true I shall have to take out a mortgage on Uncalito to pay for it, as William has all the cash I am owner of at present. It's the government title I now purchase for eight years, and during these eight years I can pay a little every year in the way of buying it out as real property. Dear Friends, in conclusion I hope this will find you all in good health which I have the pleasure of informing you we all here enjoy and I remain as ever your Dear Brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to P. Curran, 25 May 1864

Buenos Aires

P. Curran, Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have written a letter to my brother Martin Murphy, Haysland, (in which I enclosed this to you), giving him instructions to negotiate with you for the passage of some men to this country. I have also given orders to send me out in the same ship with the passengers a plough, and a gig. The plough of course can be left any place on deck. The gig no doubt will require to be a little better secured. These articles I expect will be brought out free of charge as coming with the passengers. However, this will be understood between my brother and you, and whatever agreement be made by him. I shall hold myself responsible for the amount on their arrival to Bs. Ayres. My respects to Capt. Leynders and remain yours most respectfully, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, circa July 1864.

Now, as to the sort of a gig or tax cart that will answer this country best, I think will be something of the tax cart kind. But let the material be good and it can therefore be made on a lighter scale. I would not wish it to be as heavy as the general run of them at home. Let the wheels be about the height of the gig I left you but not dished, but wider of further apart. Let there be seats as in tax carts before and behind with sufficient room for two persons in each. That is the hind part that contains the well to be made, so as to form a seat when necessary. This plan it is necessary to have the body erected on those on those sliding bars so as to regulate the weight on the horse's back, as the case may need. You understand as to the hind seat that is the hind board of well to form the foot board for the hind passengers. As to the seat behind it is not necessary that it should be larger enough to hold two persons unless ~~the make of the~~ it will correspond with the make of the cart. Let it have a patent axle and in every respect made in first class style, as there are many countrymen here waiting its arrival to determine on sending for others, as it's thought we may have them cheaper and better than getting them here. And for this reason I am sure the maker will do his duty. There is one circumstance connected with its make, that I should very much desire ~~that is~~ that it be made so low as the works will permit as being less exposed to be thrown over when struck by these sudden squalls of wind that's so prevalent here. Send out with it the good set of harness I left

at home, as being second-handed they pay no duty and perhaps they may serve to get the gig off as such also. There are no lamps nor apron needed. As to the maker I make no choice as yourselves can see best where you are most likely to get a good article for your money. Don't dwell too much on saving four or five pounds as regards the sort of an article. I would like as all the other expenses will be the same for the best as for the most common you could send me. Make arrangements for getting it made as soon as convenient after receiving this. Also see Clinton and Kissane or perhaps better corresponds with Duffy or Farrell and see what would be the charge for sending it out by the steamer from Liverpool with the plough also, and the three passengers that you are to send me. These same line of steamers have an agent here, and the first time I go to town I shall see him on the matter. You need not arrange with any parties for bringing out the above until I write to you with instructions to do so, as perhaps I may get them out cheaper through their agent here. It will be a great advantage to have them coming out with the men you are to send me, as they can attend to the caring of them on the passage, and to see that they are well covered by a tarpaulin on all the way. It is better that the wheels should come separated from the body bound with straps and confined together. But I believe it's better [to] leave the wheels under it, as it will be more easily manoeuvred, and when put on board the steamer at Liverpool they can take off the wheels if it suits better the convenience of the ship owner. I would not have written till the next packet were it not that you would as soon as possible get the things prepared, and have all ready to start with the men about the month of August next if possible, so as to be in time here for the shearing to give a hand. If the cash don't hold out, draw on the Bank until next wool season, and I shall send home what's necessary. The interest that Patt had out of Uncalito for his services came very high. What I calculated on at home he had, clear of all expenses, between stock and cash to the value of 280 £, not including the half of the flock he has in halves with me. With all this, how has my business been attended to when I arrived to Buenos Aires. I found himself, Mrs and child in town. The Mrs came under the excuse to be confined different to other women, as if there was not room in the camp, still worse as having left outside in the middle of the greatest drought that ever visited the country, and remained in town two months leaving the place trusted to their men outside, and each of them having enough to do with their own. Had he money of his own to meet those extravagant habits (which I saw no way mistaken when I was at home), the thing would not be too bad. But last year he owed me about 100 £ and this year he added to that something about the same amount. It grieves me when I see things squandered in this manner, more particularly when I look back at how you been to him at home. When I give a chance to them here to get a head in the word it's only thrown to the wind and made a pretext of for their extravagance and waste. It is hard for me to think of leaving here again, knowing as I well do that things will go on as they did before. I am giving him the same interest in the establishment this year as I did last, though being here myself and of course things will go on better so long as I remain at their head. It is a lucky he had only a few lambs in the flocks during the watering season. Otherwise, we should have had a great loss. All the men are now taking care of the flocks on foot, though having sixteen horses. Yet there are only some one or two that would be safe to saddle as they can with difficulty support their own weight. I am getting ten or more young asses tamed in, and I shall then have a good supply so long as they are left with me. We are being sadly trespassed on this last year. Were it not for that, our camps would have not been so bad. This has become a sad nuisance in the camp, and the Justice of Peace is now giving powers to the parties to shut in a corral the trespassing cattle until they are paid for the damage. I am now making a corral and intend taking these steps, as they are the only means to prevent a continuance of it. I now conclude with the good news to you that all friends here are well, and sincerely hope that this may find yourself, Margaret, Bess, James and family in good health and a continuance of this blessing will be always the wish of your dear brother,

John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26? July 1864

Estancia Bella Vista [note]

Salto

Dear Friends, In place of directing your letters to Uncalito you will for the future direct them as above as I have changed the name owing to there being another Estancia alongside the name Uncalito, and there do mistakes occur in consequence. The name in English is Beautiful Sight, but you direct as Bella Vista, &c. as before. Tell Father James that I have got 2 or 3 pounds from his parishioners in the country to send him for his church, but to attempt a collection would be absurd this year, as it would sure to become a failure, owing to losses sustained by sheep farmers, numbers of them left as poor as they were 10 years ago. Adieu, J.M.

Uncalito, 20th July 1864 [letter]

My Dear Brothers, Sisters & Friends,

I believe two months has elapsed since I last wrote you, and perhaps this one might have passed also (as I have but little news to send), were it not that I feel an inevitable desire to let you know that we are all well out here, which news I am sure you will be glad to hear. Dear Friends, ~~I have~~ I have been knocking about very much since I last wrote in search of land to buy, but has failed in doing so, as there is none to be got suitable for sheep unless at such a price as no one would buy unless those persons totally in need of it, and must purchase at any price, and many of those by doing so have to involve themselves perhaps several thousand pounds in debt. There are many foreigners has purchased land in Santa Fe of late, and has moved up their sheep. The feeling of sheep farmers at present are rather favourable to the scheme, as land is bought at 1/8 of current price of land Buenos Aires, and I believe not inferior in quality. And as to protection for life and property it only wants population to make it as good or even better than these camps. I expect the news of late by *The Standard* (as to the most of murders, &c.) has alarmed the people at home, but his statements are exaggerated and absurd, as he publish every thing he is told, not taking into consideration the character of his informants, which are generally people of no calling whatever, unless that of telling lies after making them. However he does no harm, but rather good as he is continually pitching in to the Ministry on this head, and we let him go on hammering away at them, as he may in the long run effect some reform in many of their laws. I shall in the course of two or there weeks have got through with the principal works now going on. I then intend going to Buenos Aires and from thence to Santa Fe to see the camps in that province, and to purchase if I see it expedient. I shall there meet Consul Hutchinson, as Rosario is one of the principal towns of that province, and is likely to become a city of some note. I think I am likely to find in the Consul and his Mrs not only a friend but a source from whence I can obtain every information respecting the country and the business that lead me to it. The distance to move sheep should not be more than half that which I had to travel from the South to where I now live, so that at least will be no impediment to intended purchasers. Dear Friends, you would be surprised to see the change the Almighty has been good enough to make in the appearance of the camps from the time I last wrote you till now. During the last week of the *Seca* you would scarce

have believed that pasture could have grown to such an extent. Suffice to say that I've never before seen the camps better at this season, and sheep and all kind of stock in better order. I think we shall have about eight hundred or one thousand *capones* (wethers) to sell this year, the average about fifty dollars. We have *señaled* (marked) all the lambs of this lambing. The increase is reasonable and they are now beginning to lamb again. This next is what we call the spring or summer lambing. We have *señaled* up to now 2,650 lambs on the Estancia and the entire amount of sheep is 15,772. Of this there are 2,545 in the Rincon. So you see the Camp is full stocked this year again thanks to God, and we have either to sell sheep or buy camp again next. Greg Scallan time is up next March with the Rincon flock, and he is likely to have to move his part (1/3 increase). I believe I mentioned in a previous letter of us having got an Irish priest amongst us in Salto. We have also built a fine public school in Salto to which we all had to subscribe. And we are now collecting to build a Church, which the[y] expect to begin in the first of summer. The Irish has subscribed very liberal toward the Church, varying from twenty pounds down to one, according to their circumstances. When they finish the Church they are to build a bridge over the River Salto, which is much needed, as it is a dangerous river to pass when flooded. The banks on both sides are from twenty to thirty feet high ~~with~~ with crags on both sides very difficult to either descend or ascend. Dear Friends, We are as usual very much respected here both by the authorities and the respectable people of Salto, but we shall have more to do for the future to retain this respect, as there are many Irish rather rum characters come into this neighbourhood of late. But we keep our place and I am sure honesty and righteousness will always ~~safe~~ carry us safe through these obstacles and indicate the character of the good man. I have this moment received a few lines from Rev. James Roach P.P. (Wexford), in which he sent me his likeness. Tell him I am exceedingly thankful and that he could not have sent me a more esteemed present, and that I shall write him when I go to Buenos Aires I wish I had Father James Walsh also. The seasons are very much altered here as well as in Ireland. The winter quarter here is almost a continual frost, yet at the same time beautiful ~~weather~~ and healthy weather. The cold during the night and in the morning felt more than at home, but during the day sunny and fine with a bright clear atmosphere. Dear Friends, I have been expecting a letter by these last two mails, but I am in hope of getting one by the August mail with an account of how the cattle done with you for the year, and every thing else worth relating, or that would be interesting to me. By my next letter I shall be able [to] give you a better idea of how things will go on with me as to finding camp, as I may not write you until I return from Santa Fe. The wool this year is likely to bring a good price as the skins are selling at a much higher price now than ever I've known them before. I hear some account of the *Raymond* not coming out here any more, and perhaps her not coming may occasion you some trouble to seek another vessel for the passengers and the other articles I sent to you for. We have eight men on the Estancia now. Gregory Scallan (Blackwater), Nick Browne, James Howlin (Ballyell), Frank Doyle, Peter Cormick, James Dunne (Ballyhiland), Simon Gaul (Milltown), and Peter Moore (Longford), with Patt & myself, and we can all find plenty to do. May I could even find work for more if I had them as every man you keep employed in this country pay well for the expenses, if he be a good man. They are all well, and those amongst them of your old acquaintance send them kindest regards to all in Haysland. Let me know how are all the little ones in Haysland, and if little Kate or Willie yet remember of Nunky John. Give each of them a kiss for me. Don't neglect letting me know how your are getting on at home, and how your are off for cash. Dear Brothers & Sisters, I must now withdraw and hope this will find you all in the enjoyment of every blessing, as your happiness will serve to increase that of your affectionate Brother, John Murphy

J. Wright Kelso & Co. to James Furlong, 2 August 1864

Liverpool

Mr. James Furlong,
Haysland, Tagoat, Wexford

We have yours of 1st. In consequence of the non-arrival of the "Parana" (st.) there will be no steamer until you hear further from us, and such being the case you will be good enough to remain at home until then.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 August 1864

Buenos Aires

My dear friends,

I am in receipt of your letter by this August packet. I cannot give it's date as having sent it out to brothers in the camp, as having account of the three men you are about to send that he may arrange the business so outside to suit their arrival. The camps and sheep as when I last wrote you are in splendid condition. The season is beautiful but we shall need much rain yet to carry on through the summer is safety. The prices are high for wool and it is sure to turn out a splendid crop. There has advertised of 100 passengers arrived last week by the *Zingara* and one of the Liverpool steamers. I am glad to see the latter has reduced the rate of passage. I suggested to them the propriety of doing so before I left home. As to the Consulate at Dublin, the government has not determined on the matter yet. For this office there is no pay but I might calculate on some commissions from shipping company, and there is a certain amount derived ~~from~~ according to the trade of vessels from there to here. Dear friends, as to my buying of landed property in this country, it still continues like a fever and what we see every one running after. We are tempted to follow the crowd and the obtaining of same has almost exceeded the reach of small capitalists. But the government with their large amount of land still affords a facility to obtain it to men of small capital, but these lands are in the interior and consequently are sold on moderate terms. The law is in these cases the government makes over to you the squatters right for eight years at from \$2,000 to 10,000 per league per year and power to renew the contract ~~at the afford~~ if the land law be not altered within that term or to purchase it at very reasonable terms. The land most sought after now is the lands in possession of parties in this form as the people prefer purchasing their interest in them to taking it from the government in consequence of the latter being much farther outside and more exposed and unprotected and much less adapted for sheep. In this business there has been a great many countrymen being badly taken in as having met bad camp, and so badly adapted for sheep that there losses for a few months has been more than would have bought them the best camp in the country. Yet the Irish are buying up these rights from the occupier at from \$50,000 to 120,000 per league with the view of them one day getting good and kind for sheep. Which when they do their capital would never reach to purchase them. Now I am this moment in bargain for 1½ league of camp and will be likely mine before I finish this letter. I am buying the squatter right of it from the owner at the rate of \$150,000 per league, with four years of unexpired time at \$2,000 per league per annum. The latter amount is all the expenses is on it for the four years, and I expect from the exceedingly good quality of the land that I will clear with that term the \$220,000 I paid for the interest of my predecessor as also the price the government put on these lands to make them real property, which price is now

before the government. Dear friends, It was not on my own account altogether I bought as I felt quite satisfied with what had, but I saw that Patt could never hope to be able [to] make a home for himself unless through my interference, and I saw the longer I let it go the worse, as the people are really mad after land, and I fell in with this as if it was Providence threw it into my way. It is only ten leagues from Uncalito and not so much from San Martín, and 1½ league from the town of Rojas, which is also the name of the partido. If I was even to rent this camp it would be at least \$40,000 per league per annum, so I calculate on making it pay twice that amount by stocking it myself from the increase of Uncalito, which is about 4,000 yearly. I expect to put five flocks on next March and intend to rent some of the remainder. You may think strange of me having bought it without seeing the land. I bought it from character and I could now sell it at decent profit. You may smile when I tell you that in buying this camp the probability of your future prospects did not escape my memory, and if these circumstances, which I have so often alluded to, ever occur I can readily afford you an acre for potatoes.

When I get this I will then have 12,375 acres, enough for any reasonable man. I will send more particulars by next packet. If you see Father Reville let him know that his niece Miss Roach is arrived out safe. She leaves town today for the camp to her sister's, William's wife. I send out also two men named Edmonds and Roach from Murrinstown. Dear friends, I believe I may say the camp above alluded to is now mine. The papers are all taken out and the money to be paid tomorrow. If I feel at any time disposed to sell the camp, I can do so at a profit. But the steps I am about to take is to make it pay for itself without interfering in any way with the profits derived from Uncalito. Then at any time I choose to lessen my property in this country and put it into cash, I can do so by selling Uncalito Bella Vista, and the new place will perhaps be sufficient for both myself and Patt, as it's just twice as large as Bella Vista (Uncalito). I enclose in this a bill in favour of Uncle Patt Murphy, Ballygeary, from his son James, who wishes his brother Joseph and all the other neighbours enjoy the best of health thanks to God. Dear friends, I would have written a longer letter were it not that my time is so limited as having this morning to go to the Railway station to send those posters out. I have now to proceed to take out the Bill and then have my letter posted before eleven o'clock. I left the writing of this to as late an hour as I could so as to have the latest news to send you.

Captain Stocks of the *Zingara* has proved an exceedingly good man to his passengers and I would recommend parties sending out parties, particularly females, to be very cautious as to what class of man they send them with. It is much better people would wait a few months for such than trust themselves to the mercy of these they don't know. The captain of the *Raymond* is also a man of worth, whom parties may rely on. It might be a benefit for the public if the People paper would make a few remarks to this effect, so as that the other provincial papers may take and copy it. You can give Mrs Sutton and Mrs Fitzgerald my name as a guarantee for the truth of the above remarks. Dear friends, Wishing all the blessings that you desire and soliciting your prayers in obtaining for us out here the same, I remain as ever your sincere and loving brother John Murphy

P.S. Let me know if there be any more trouble in getting this bill cashed than the others I sent formerly of this Bank sell this bill cheaper than any here.

J. M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 October 1864

[Separate Note]

Dear Brother,

I have had the misfortune of leaving getting out the Bill until today and I have been sadly disappointed in founding that the Bank have sell bills on the day of the packet sailing, so I now cannot send it until the English Mail leave here, which sail be on 27th this month.

J. Murphy

Buenos Aires, 26th October, 1864

My Dear Friends,

I received your kind letters the last of September 6, the others not reaching me in time as also not containing the particulars of when the passengers were to leave L-pool caused me not to be in Bs. As. to receive them at their landing. However these were circumstances that could not be advised neither have they caused any serious inconvenience to me or them or to the articles entrusted to their charge. Dear Friends, for my experience in this country for I may say this last twenty years I've never saw as good a year as this. The state of the camp and sheep cannot be exceeded and I am happy to inform you that Bella Vista enjoys its share of these two great blessings. I have sold 674 capones at \$55 each and expect to sell more after shearing, which we have already commenced at William's, and will afterwards at ours when finished there. The buying of this last land will be a heavy pull on me I did not expect it to have come to so much I did not see the place when I bought it I knew the land from character but there turned out a great deal more value on the place than I expected to find on it, and that I had to take at valuation through it's cheap at the price. Yet there are a great many things on it that I could have done without for some time. It stand me now \$300,000 for the league and a half of land worth all that's on it. That is now £2,100. That amount is only for the interest of the late owner and I have yet to buy it from the Government, for which there is a project before the Senate now setting to make the law so as to compel all persons that occupy land in this way to purchase it and make real property of it. The price the Government has put on these land according to the project above mentioned is \$250,000 per league, which for the 1½ league I hold will stand me \$375,000 dollars, with the 300,000 dollars already paid for the interest of it will amount to \$675,000 or about £4,700. But the terms of the Government are very moderate. You pay at the time of purchase ¼ of the amount and ¼ every succeeding year until the sum is all paid. But for the time you get to make those payments you have to pay interest at the rate of 6 per cent, amount which is very moderate in this country. I intend to send five or six flocks onto it next March, so as to make it pay for itself very quick. I have taken a mortgage out on Uncalito of £2,500 that I will pay the most of after shearing and in less than three years I hope to have all clear and some to spare. Dear Brother, the passengers arrived out safe and well, and came very opportunely for the shearing. The patched books and likenesses also safe to hand. I cannot express my feelings at receiving the little present from sister Margaret. It is not it's value I look to it, is the intention and the feeling of the donor that I value more than if it were composed of costly diamonds and I shall look upon it as one of the most dearest works of her regard for me. As to the likenesses they are better done than I could have imagined from the report in your letter of then I shall give one of each of them to Patt's and William's wife. The others I shall keep myself from my frequent looking at them. These last three or four days I have fancied almost that I am still in Haysland enjoying the happy hours of your society, which often helped to pass away the winter evening over the happy fireside at the old house at home. Oh dear happy home. Oh sad fate, how ungenerous thou hast been to have called me thus far from those pleasures and separated me from those whom above all in this world is most dear to my heart. There are some changes made here lately in the post office regulation, so it may be safer to direct your letters as heretofore to the Standard office, as follows: c/o Standard Office, 74 Belgrano. For me Uncalito, Salto. We [torn] the old name again until I send you more. Dear friends, The Zingara left here before I

came to town, so I had no chance of speaking to the captain before he started, but I did about six weeks previous though did not come to an understanding with him about those I am going to send for, but was very desirous I should get out some passengers by him. In consequence of which you will have no difficulty in doing so. I spoke to you before to look out for a carpenter. It's necessary he should bring tools with him, not a great quantity but just sufficient to make plain doors and windows and the other work will be principally house roofing. The following are the conditions which you are to agree with on. He shall work for me at any thing I put him to the same, and on the same scale as the rest of the men, and at the end of twelve months after having some experience of the business I will give him sheep on thirds for providing he turn out a man deserving of them. ~~You will also send me out a mason, the conditions to be the same. It's all brick work here but a mason from home is easily accustomed to brick work.~~ You know the sort of a man that will answer me best without any further remarks from me. Dear Friend, I spoke in my previous letter and also in this opportunity about sending out a mason also, but that I have now declined sending for as he would be but little use to me. But send out the carpenter, also as relating to the conditions he has to do any work that is to be done at his trade on the Estancia during his time with sheep by me putting a man to mind the flock during said work and without pay more than the profits derived from the sheep. I wrote this letter to go by the last English Mail but did not send it afterwards, since then I have spoken to Captain Stock of the Zingara, which I then thought had left but did not until Tuesday the 8th this month. You can send any passengers by him you please on my account. He expects to be in Liverpool by Christmas and is not likely to make much delay there till he returns. Brother William will be in town on next Sunday the 13th with his wool. I shall not learn till he arrives. I had a letter yesterday from there; they are all well. William has got a young daughter a few days since. Both itself and mother are doing well. All the boys in that neighbourhood are also well. I here enclose you bill for one hundred pounds. I don't know if it be sufficient for all your calls, however it will be sufficient to restore confidence by the Bankers. It is at your services to lay out for whatever purpose you think fit either for me, you, or James. I don't know if I shall be able send more this year. If not draw on the Bank for whatever amount you may require and I will be accountable. The interest I pay here is nine per cent per annum, so there is a saving by not raising money here to send home if it can be got there conveniently. Between what I make this year and what I am to owing I could have nearly paid all, were it not that I have to hold on so much for to pay for brick-making and building purposes. The Government have such quibbling about the land law it's doubtful if it ever pass. They have now put the term to pay the purchase money six years, so that is at least a move in favour of me and late purchasers. At present there is an awful dullness in the wool market everyone that can afford it is storing. This help to make the remainder saleable through at a low figure. This next packet is expected to bring some buyers out. If so, it will bring a stir in the market. The wool from Uncalito won't likely be in before the last of this month. I will send the second bill by next English packet. Paper money is exactly fifty per cent lower now than some five years ago. We have to make some changes in the flocks this year and also in the Rincón flock, as the time of contract is up with the man in charge. The flock did very well. I shall give particulars of after making the above arrangements. The name of Buenos Ayres is now gone over the whole world. The people are flocking here from all parts. Many of them men of capital coming to invest in land and sheep. This will cause property to run up very much, and has already done so since last year. Tell James to let me know how much money he may require this year or if he can manage to raise what he requires in the Bank. Dear Friends, owing to the business I had on hands about the camp, I had to decline writing as often as I should wish because after leaving town I shall have better leisure to fulfil this duty. You may expect to hear from me after, and I hope at each time to be able to send you good news of all being well, a blessing I sincerely wish you

all. My love to all the little ones as also to all you my dear friends is the feeling most dear to the heart of your loving brother, John Murphy

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 14 November 1864

Buenos Aires

Dear brother Martin,

I have just arrived in town on yesterday, and write a few hurried lines to you. Considering the enclosed bill forwarded by John [torn] supplementary (Mail, for 110 £). The 100 you will be so good as to give to Frank Whitty's brother Larry. It is as much as he can spare at present. As John has written to you concerning the enclosed bill, you need no more particulars from me. At the time he posted his letter he was not aware that he would have been able to get the bill. I have the pleasure of informing you that we are all well here. Patt and children are all well. Eliza was confined on the 28th last month. She is up, and herself and the baby are doing very well. I was expecting to have heard from you this time past, it is now a long time since I received any letter from you. I hope you are going on as usual. I would be pleased to hear from you and James occasionally. Hoping this will find all friends well and wishing to be kindly remembered to my sisters and friends, I remain your brother, yours truly, William Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 27? December 1864

Buenos Ayres, December 1864

My Dear Friends,

I would have differed writing this letter to a later date were it not that I expect to leave town for Uncalito on tomorrow and not to take the enclosed bill out to the camp. I thought it better to write from here and leave it in town to be posted by next mail. Dear Brother, I cannot understand from your last letter how it is that it was James that wrote it. I wish you had explained the reason as it leaves me in doubt of something being wrong. But I hope your next will resume it. All friends out here are in good health and getting on first rate. I intend giving two or three of the boys an interest in flocks this March. The whole of them has given me every satisfaction. I have not left town since I last wrote you. After having arranged all about the land, the wool _____ then on the road in and I thought better to remain in to sell it than to have to return again. The wool was in splendid order but had to sell it at a low price owing to the depressed state of the market caused by the bad news and the high interest on money in Europe. I sold it at 87 dollars the @ of 25 lbs (unwashed). Almost every one is storing it unless than situated as myself in need of cash. It's a mere speculation and people at present cannot see what are the prospects that induce them to store, unless diffusion of opinions. Brother William sold two weeks before me at 85, but his wool was heavier than mine. There has been nothing this few days waiting for the news by the packet. She arrived yesterday but brought no news that can make any particular change.

I enclose a bill of ten pounds for Patrick Furlong (Ballydrack), from his son George, who continue to remember him. I think he is doing more for them than he could have ever expected to have done had he remained at home, at least considering such a short beginning. He has not written himself as I know but he will likely write by next packet and send the second bill. What a pity to see so much money sending home to be devoured by the hungry

landlords in place of keeping it where it can be some use. Dear Brother, I am glad to hear how well the hay has done in Crosstown. Let me know from time to time how Frank of the shop is getting on and how Sinnott is working Crosstown. I think you will make more out of the shop and the five acres than he will out of all the rest. I am sorry it's not convenient for me to send you home more money this year, but it will be tight with me until after next wool season. It has often occurred to my mind to sell off Uncalito next year and trust to the new place in this country. The old place will bring now about ten thousand pounds and I think that aught [*sic*] to be able keep me living here or any place else. These notions are only passing in my mind as a dream, but it will require much consideration before it can be brought to a reality.

I am glad to hear of good crop at home but regret to know that the prices are so low. I see the shares in the National Bank of Liverpool are improving something. Dr. Crean has not written as you mentioned in your letter. His time could scarcely admit his doing so. I am sorry about I am not prepared to send home a little present to each of the children, but I will not forget them. There is no vessel here now by which I might send home the wool and ostrich feathers to Margaret, but I will have it prepared and send it when I come into town next time if an opportunity offers. Dear Friends, you must dispense for another while my visit home. I assure you it's against my own wishes I have to postpone it as my heart is yet there. But you must (as I do myself) endeavour to content yourselves with a longer separation which can or will in no way diminish our attachment and love. I am sorry I have no opportunity to send a little token to sister Margaret. I do frequently kiss her likeness. Tell her to give a kiss to each of the little ones for me. Direct your letters and papers to Barry & Walker, Esq., Buenos Ayres for me, as I have business to do with these parties. My letters is likely to be safer in their hands. Dear Friends, the fine season still continues. The rains are falling very regular and the camps and stock never was in better condition than at present. There has several serious accidents occurred here within this last few days. I will send in some papers to be sent by this packet. One of the most important is the blowing up of H.B.M. frigate the Bombay of 80 guns and about 900 men. She is on this station but was made in atoms by the explosion of the magazine by some accident. I don't know how the report of me getting married to Miss Kavanagh could have arisen, however she is since married and that will clear up the case with me. I am keeping myself quite clear waiting the result of enquiries by my last letter which I hope will be as soon as possible, as she is expecting of leaving this country next February to go to North America. But I have yet said nothing that might induce her to remain longer, at least on my account. Dear Friends, I hope this will find you all in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing I sincerely wish you all, with a Merry Christmas and a happy new year. I remain dear friends your loving brother,
John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 February 1865

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Friends,

We have such changing on the name of this place that you will scarcely know where to write to, but the old name *Uncalito* being so well known that it would be difficult to remove it. So the best change we can make is by adding the above to it, which means in English the Flower of the Uncalito, by which we will continue for the future. Dear Friends, By your last letter I was glad to see that you were all well and I hope in every way happy. It will be my greatest wish to hear of you continuing in this happy state as there is nothing that I can do for you to cause you to be so but is freely yours. Your account of Bess Breen's wedding and match

making was very interesting to us out here. I am well aware [of] how well they carry out this theatrical performance on such actions, and you have brave patience to look on in silence at their hypocrisy. I think it's necessary these people should be brought to a proper knowledge of this disgusting dodging and learned to believe that you are not fools or Jackasses. Why if you be acting in this manner with them they will ultimately look upon you all as ____ of proper understanding as Jimmy Elish and their absurdity is sure to increase as it proceeds. I am surprised on these occasions and in their presence to be so degraded by them and leave their house and themselves under the impression that they have effected their object, and that they can at any time act with you as tools in their hands. Man or woman is as much in duty bound to himself as to any other to support and maintain that respect which his character entitles him to, and men are wrong if they fail in doing that as let themselves beneath the standard which their merits place them in they then become abject, mean wretches in the eyes of those that have acted the part of their too cunning friends. I imagine James had a crooked job of it, and though things be settled at present, it's most unlikely that he is yet clear of it, for I calculate an afterclass. I am not sorry that poor James Keating missed it, though he may have got some stabs concerning it, but he will get well that, but had he have moved into Kilrane I fancy the stab would have been a more serious one. Dear Friends, In your letter you ask me about my new Estancia as is nigh this province. I thought I had given you the particulars about it before. However, I will do it now. The distance from Uncalito is that you can mount a horse in the morning, go out there and return the same day. If you choose, it is in the parish, or partido, of Rojas, which join the parish of Salto, this parish. George Furlong has moved out to it with his sheep. We expect to move three more flocks out next week. They reach from here to there in two days, so you can imagine how convenient it is to the old place. Patt and family is to move and take charge of it next week with the flocks. I am getting a Mr Brett, son to the Rev. Mr Brett, Rathmany, to take charge of Uncalito. He is a very proper young man. His interest [I expect the carpenter and mason will have left before you receive this] in the place is 1/10 for two years, or about 35,000 \$ dollars or 250 £ per year clear of expense, with exception of say 50 £. Our little priest is about to come [to] reside to this parish, Salto, as he finds a great difference in the people of here and the other parishes, and gives them a great preference, for which reason he is coming to reside amongst us. We have began the new church at last, and the Irish have now either to build or [to] buy a house for our little priest Father Leahy, so you see we are busy on every quarter. There are a large congregation of Irish in this parish now, and they are flocking to it every year many of them, no great acquisition to any place I am sorry to say. The war still continue in the River Plate, be thank God we are still clear of it in the province and ____ for my time in this country I have never saw as good as year for the crops as this, everything fat and full, and nice rains during the summer, which kept everything growing. Continue to direct your letters to Barry and mother, as they will be safe to them. All the articles you sent out turned out very much to my satisfaction. There might be some simple alteration in the gig to suit the country better. The binding of the wheels flat, as the roads are soft and the wheels about five inches farther apart, that is the axel five inches longer. I think Hore charged you high for the tackling unless leather has risen since I left. However all is first rate and pleases me well. In conclusion, I have the pleasure to inform you [that] we are all well out here, and I hope this will find you all at home enjoying the same blessing. I intend to go to Buenos Aires some time in March next, from where I shall write you a letter. Until then, accept my love and I remain your dear brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 6 March 1865

Estancia de la Caldera

My Dear Friends,

We are now moved on to our new place with 6,000 six thousand and odd sheep. Patt and family, George Furlong, Mick Brown, and William Carr. But we are yet short of another man to get along smoothly. It's now more than three months since I last saw it and at each time it has pleased me better. It is possessed of all those qualities of grass and herbage best adapted for sheep-farming and situated in every way so as to give ample satisfaction. It no doubt has brought me under many compromises and inconveniences for same time, but yet I look upon it as something that will justify me in making a struggle to hold, and with God's help and our own perseverance soon expect to have clear of all encumbrances. Dear Brother, I should in the beginning of this have acknowledged the receipt of your letter with the note enclosed from F.J.W. concerning Mrs. K., for which I am very thankful. The greatest reasons I had for making these enquiries was that I saw or imagined that there yet remained somewhat of that greediness he speaks of, and I have since heard that her husband William K. and herself lived very unhappy. But things are often talked of that never had a foundation. As to the Dr Furlong's letter, it was sent out after her, not with her, as he was on the continent at the time of he leaving, she is a very ladylike looking woman and that which I look upon as greediness may be owing to the high sphere of life in which she have heretofore moved, and as you and F.J.W. justly remark the most important information is that of during the period of his husband's life with her. However my circumstances at present do not permit me to do anything hastily and you can from time to time let me know anything you may happen to find out. This you can do on a slip of paper enclosed in your letters. I am very glad to know that the £100 reached you so opportunely. The second bill I never sent though I thought I had but there is now no necessity to do so. The land project has now past into law, compelling every one that has got land as I have (the squatter's right) to make property of the whole or whatever portion of it they choose. But there terms are moderate that's only the first payment that may inconvenience purchasers, as they have to pay the 1/6 of the amount on the deeds being completed, and the remainder in six installments in six years at six per cent per annum. I have got to inform you that there is about ½ of this camp I bought not yet refined as suitable for sheep as the coarse virgin grass has never been eaten down. But the other ½ that is the same size as the Flor del Uncalito and capable of keeping as much sheep, and I consider quite adequate to be able clear itself and its expenses each year. That part that is yet coarse cannot yet adapted for sheep, I intend to rent for cattle, which will at least pay small interest for the money laid out and will in the course of three or four years have it refined so as that sheep. As they increase on it we can extend the flock on the camp as it improves. My plan of proceeding is to buy ½ that's the good, ½ at the government price \$190,000, and to let the other ½ remain as I am sure the government won't get to sell it at the price. And at whatever time or at whatever amount the may happen to effect a sale I am yet entitled to a preference to take it at the amount offered, so it's not likely that it will meet a purchaser as they know that I am not likely to let it go so long as I am prepared with means to buy it. And if not compelled to buy it as above mentioned I yet have my right to it at the small sum of \$2,000 per square league per year. James speak of sending out the account of what he owe me. I will answer his letter after receiving the above mentioned account. I may now tell him that from the changes that have been made in the flock of the Rincón, that after regulating the account shall yet likely remain a sound sum in his favour. From the changes above aluded to and his part of the wool of this year, there will remain to his credit about \$28,000 or something about £200 English. William Furlong and Carr are very good boys. Martin Doyle if he parts in his time I will ship him. He has made some moves here I think endeavouring to provoke me to part him off. But I think he is only cutting or bad to ship himself. Don't have anything to do with gentle men and servants

again. I think the cause of his disagreements is owing to a man on the place that have been blowing poison in his ear, and who I have cleared out now disappointed enough. James says that I am determined never to leave this country. This is my belief if it was a thing that you all would come out here. Otherwise my mind is very different to his. Dear Friends, all out here well, and I hope this will find you all the same at home and I remain your sincere and dearest brother,

John Murphy

P.S. Send me out the recipe of how to make both the ointment and the Liquid Blister for horses, the quantity of flies &c. in each sort of Blister. Get it from James Pitt, his son John is marine.

J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1865

Note 1

If it is convenient give Martin Barry 2£ to give to Frank Doyle's mother. J. M.

Note 2

Buenos Aires

Dear Brother,

The war is commenced in the upper provinces. We are all well. I have not time to write as the Mail close now, and I having only arrived in. You see by this paper that we have horse racing here, as well as at home. Matt O'Connor & Mrs. is come out to my *Uncalito*. He have met same hard times since he arrived. He fell into a hard situation but it will do him good. I got your letter of 6th March. I cannot understand you exactly about the hoax. I sent by French packet my opinion about Margaret's wedding. I will write by next. Your Dear Brother, J. Murphy

Flor del Uncalito, 25th March, 1865

My Dear Brother Martin & Friends,

On receipt of your kind letter of Feby. 6 I hasten to answer that part of it that I feel most interesting, and after assuring you of the satisfaction I feel at finding you all in the enjoyment of good health. I proceed with this very important tasks. You are well aware of the pleasure I feel at any change which might, or can, make either of you happy, particularly dear sister Margaret, which is now (if I may so express myself) the only lone one amongst you, & though having a will of her own, may in a great measure be guided by your influence and good advice. The family of Philip Keating are indeed very respectable people, and he is himself a man [who] will (I am quite assured) ~~will~~ make a kind and loving husband. And from his industrious and temperate habits, I dare say procure for her a comfortable life, that is providing he has the other means, and wherewith to do so. As to the amount of fortune he ask, I am only sorry that he is not in the possession of property to entitle him to twice or thrice the amount. For if he was, the pleasure I would feel at their union would be far greater than what I feel under the present circumstances. I consider the amount of fortune Philip Keating ask for is not unreasonable. But to this she is not confined providing a suitable proposal he made, as she shall have the amount above mentioned, to whatever amount the proposed property will entitle him to, not exceeding the amount invested in the National Bank of Liverpool at present. From the 200£ above mentioned, up to the whole of the amount invested in the

National Bank of Lpool is at her command, and she is at liberty to make a choice suitable to whatever amount of that she chose. She can take the present offer or wait for a better, but in changing the latter there may [be] many changes take place before one present itself. And then it's God only knows within it would make her more happy than Philip though they may figure higher in the world. The only advice I can give is that she invoke, the Blessed Virgin may to come to her assistance in this very important case, and that she implore of her Only Son to guide her for the better. Let her consult her Father Confessor, and make up her mind to be guided by him. Let her show him this letter and I am sure she will be conducted the right way. I cannot say more than that whatever changes take place that can in any way make her or either of you happy shall cause me happiness also. You have my consent in whatever arrangements be made. You can either sell the number of shares that will amount to the £200, or transfer them over in their or her name, as may be arranged. As you know I am not circumstanced after having bought the land to send it home in cash. The shares are in your name, so you will have no trouble in doing so. If there do any documents or papers meant to be signed by me, send them out and I will do so and return them. In conclusion, I really think that Philip Keating is a very worthy man, and that Margaret will be happy with him. This and the happiness of you all is the greatest desire of your sincere and loving Brother John Murphy.

3rd April. My Dear & Affectionate Sister Margaret, I am indebted to you a letter and I take this opportunity of writing it, and as usual hoping it may find you and all friends in the enjoyment of good health. Dear Sister, of all the stages of our mortal life, the one which you are now called on to enter, or not to enter, is the one the most important of your whole life. It is one no mortal man can advise you to or from, without infringing on the prerogative of Divine Providence. We may all give you our opinion, we may all look to the future and survey the past, we may make our calculations, but what do they all come to in the hands of Divine Providence. Dear Margaret depend not on the feeble means we have in our power to direct you. Seek it through these means I referred you to in that part of this letter to Martin. Seek assistance from Mother Mary. Make up your own mind, consult your father confessor, and leave the rest to God, who above can make the change a good or bad one. Dear Margaret, although I have not as yet entered the marriage state, yet at the same time I really believe there is no life so happy. I can also almost venture to say that I think the person who has proposed for you, Philip Keating, is a man who (from his temperate and I believe virtuous habits) is sure to prove a good husband, and no doubt you would be happy with him. Dear Margaret, You have many friends about you and have in my brothers Martin and James good and wise counsellors, and who will advise you to nothing wrong. And I am sure [they] will act with a good intention both for your spiritual and temporal happiness. Dear Margaret, in case your wedding take place the little present I send to you the 20£ you will endeavour to make it reach to buy the little necessities suitable for the occasion. Out of same you will buy as a token of remembrance of me one gold bracelet to wear on your right arm. Let it be a good one. You may likely get one at Simpson's, as I can have no way of sending you one from here in time, in case the ceremony ~~will~~ go on. Let things be for the ceremony as respectable as circumstances will permit, and as becoming yourselves and me. let not a few pounds cause you to want things that would make it otherwise. You know I would have it so if I was there myself, and I shall be happy to hear that you have it so even though I must be absent. Were I to be there, I should feel pain at parting with you, a dear kind sister. He is happy that will get you and I hope he will prove himself worthy of the treasure he receive. It may not be long tell I have the pleasure of seeing you (I hope) happy in your own family, thankful for the good and kind husband which I hope God will send you, and pleased with the world, and yourself for the change which you are now about to make. Brother William cooperate with me in

saying that whatever change take place amongst you, may we hope be for the better. He regrets also that he is not circumstanced to send some token of his regard for you on this occasion, but the intention, as circumstance permit him, will be as much to you as if he did in reality do so. So Dear Sister, all we can do for you at present is all that is contained in the above letter with the exception of our prayers to Almighty God, that He may direct you for the better, and that the Blessed Virgin and his Dear Son may conduct you in this affair as she wish to do with all her own children, is the prayer that shall continue to be offered by your Dear and ever affectionate Brother,

John Murphy.

P.S. Dear Brother Martin, In case sister Margaret wedding take place, you will give her also with the fortune twenty pounds 20£ as a present from me to buy fittings for the occasion. Get this as you do the rest, and out of it let her buy a gold bracelet (one only), to wear on her right arm. Let it be a good one, as me not being there in person. That I may be represented in a token of my affection and regard for her. Though as I said not there in person my heart will be amongst you, though invisible. Yet it share you happiness. I sent letters by the last French packet also, but the news has reached here that she is lost with all the mail and cargo on board. I don't remember whether in those letters or some previous one, I told James there were to his credit here (out of the Rincón for wool & sheep sold), to the amount of about two hundred pounds 200£. So he can send out his account, as there will afterwards a respectable balance in his favour. There do yet remain in the Rincón, the principal he first purchased 600 sheep, so he can see the advantage between investing capital here in preference to home. Ballyconnor is far behind. John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 24 May 1865

Buenos Aires

My Dear Friends,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 6th, which arrived a day or two after the *Zingara*. The passengers landed all in good health, and pleased with the voyage and the treatment they received from their Capt'n. There are, as you may see by the papers, great preparations making for the war, which has already been declared, but it is considered it will not extend or spread further than where it has commenced. If so we shall be far off from any of those evils that so widely spread around the seat of war in every country. The army from here are ~~on th~~ about to march as the last of the present month to join with the forces of the upper provinces, to march against Paraguay. The seat of war I need not say more on this question as the papers I send you will give you more particulars. But it's generally believed that Paraguay cannot stand any time against the allied forces of Brazil and the Argentine Confederation. Paraguay is I believe about three hundred miles from here up the River. I am sorry to hear that the times are so bad at home, but they could not be otherwise from the way things were going on at my leaving. And I fear there is but little hope of improvement, unless there be some extraordinary change made in the land law. You speak of William Murphy but I can by no means give him any encouragement to come to the country, unless he can find no employment at home. I expect you did not get my letter in time to send out the Bricklayer, but it's just as well and you need not do so until further instructions. I told you in a previous letter how to arrange things relative to sister Margaret, and also gave my opinion to the best of my ability on the subject. I see the papers that the cash invested in the National Bank of Liverpool is doing very little for us. If I had it here now it would be gaining 24 per cent per annum, as I am myself paying that interest at present and many others paying more, even up to 36 is being paid. Now

in case this reach you before you have sold the shares to arrange for Margaret's wedding, sell off all, keep what you may require, and send me out the rest. You can speak to Mr Kennedy and get him to do it through the Mana & Co. Bank, payable in Bs. Ayres. Keep also the amount you require to pay for the passage of those I send for. I am sorry to hear of the death of Uncle Patt and Aunt Mary. The Lord have mercy on them both. The wool & ostrich feathers I cannot send you this year as I was in Bs. As. from the time I received the letter, until the wool came in to be sold. I was there about the land I bought. My Dear Friends, I am not yet married nor is there any sign of it more than when I left you. My mind is as yet perfectly free of any compromise whatever Mrs R. is yet in this country. I see no change in her, neither is there any thing remarkable in her behaviour. I expect if sister Margaret get married you will be coming out here. I will not at present offer you an advice on the subject as you already know how solicitous I am for your welfare. I sometimes have a notion to sell half of my last purchase so as to clear myself of debt. I am sure at any time to get my own money, for it at least selling the half of it leave the other half just the same size as Uncalito, which between the both leave me 1½ square league of land, or 8,250 acres. Dear Friends, the times are very bad now in Buenos Aires (not with the labouring class as there are always plenty of employment), but with speculators and those that have involved themselves heavily in debt by speculation. Money is hard to be got even at 2 per cent interest, even on good security. Stock of any kind as also the fruits of the country cannot be sold even at a reduction of 50 per cent of the price it was some time ago. The Banks has refused to give money on any security, unless to customers, and that at 18 per cent per annum. You can see by the paper [that] the market price of produce has fallen considerably. ~~Dear Brother, I here enclose to you a bill for eight pounds 8£: six pounds 6£ for William Furlong (Grawlhole) sent to him by his daughter Mary, and two 2£ for Frank Doyle's mother, sent to her by Frank her son, to be given to Martin Barry for her. Frank Doyle is I believe desirous that the money should be given her occasionally in small amounts. But Frank's letter to Martin Barry will likely specify the particulars. I had a notion to retain the money for this Bill, and for you to pay it out of the shares when sold. But fearing there might be some disappointment, I afterwards thought better to send it. You can get it cashed and retain the 2£ for Frank's mother. Captain Stocks of the *Zingara* is to write to you on his arrival in Liverpool. He will bring any passengers you choose to and on my name. You can be looking out for two or three men that you think will answer. The *Zingara* is not likely to be in Liverpool before the latter end of August or the first of September.~~

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 June 1865

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

Many are the occasions I would fain write to you, but business and other circumstances often times prevent me from embracing those many favourable opportunities. However, I mean not to let this one pass without reminding you that I will think and remember of you all as heretofore, and that we are all here in good health, a Blessing which I hope this will also find you all enjoy at home, thanks to the Almighty. Dear Friends, this winter has set in very rainy such as our winter some fifteen years ago. The camps are excellent in most places. Uncalito is amongst the flower. The sheep are very fat and increase has been exceedingly good. The following is a list of the number señaled-marked. Estancia flock principal 1,808 marked. 575 lambs = Lanata's 1,500. Marked 464 = Pacheco's 1,200 – 448 marked Kincan 1,200. Marked 375 = Donnolly's 1,636. Marked 444 = William's puesto or old place 2,180, marked 644 = Total: principal 9,524, marked 2,950, not counting the small flock 150 ewes. The above is

only from the first lambing. The other lambing season do not commence till about 1st August. I am giving a young man (son of the Revd. Mr Brett [of] Rathmanee) an interest of 1/10 in the Establishment as Manager, but I may say I do all such business myself. This will come to his part about 24,000 \$ or £170 per year stg., clear of expenses. The above amount I think would be a nice income out of all Haysland and Ballyconnor, and along with that our work is light and we are well fed if we choose. The climate and seasons you may see anything like it in Ireland, and for security of life and property I see no risk providing people carry themselves correct and fair. When at home I imagined these were great danger in living in this country, but this feeling took possession of my mind through a debility, and from the fear so much apprehended by people at home, as you remember how much we used to talk of these matters over our comfortable fire during the winter nights. But this has all vanished, and the danger I so much dreaded I find to be nothing more nor less than imagination and I now (whatever it has been from heretofore) see no cause for those fears, as I never saw an instance of murder or &c. without having been provoked and that in most cases caused through a drink and its effects. The War up the River I can say nothing of it yet, as there has up to this time been very little done on either sides, and we are not likely to hear much truth of how things are going. And I hope it will remain where we are sure to know little about it. I am commenced to build but owing to the season cannot do much this year. I am getting up a house of three rooms at the Estancia and also two small houses at two of the puestos for the shepherds. I intend (if I can reach to do so) to build a dwelling house at the Estancia next summer, also a wool room and large shed for the small flock and to shear under. I waited a long time for the bricklayer I now have. He is a countryman and very clever at his business. I am glad you did not send me out any one as they would be only fools at the business here, not so with the carpenter, as his work is much like home. He appear[s] a handy fellow. Look out for a couple of labouring men to send me out by *La Zingara* next trip. She will likely leave here about a month time. I told the Captain not to neglect writing to you. Kate Cormack and John Patts are about sending for their sisters. You will likely have to arrange for their passages, that is to send them in my name. The same as the two men I order. I mentioned in my last something about selling off the shares in the Natl. Bank Liverpool. If you think well of doing so, pay the passage of the two men I send for. If there be any other men coming out on their own hook, tell them I or William can give them employ if they choose to come out to Salto. Jams. Moore was speaking to me before I left home. I don't know what you think of him, however I will leave you to yourself to choose as you can do so better than I can. In some previous letter I spoke of Martin Doyle. He refused complying with my orders to go out to my new place, but I think he was put up to it by a man on the place, whom I have since got shut of. Outside of that he has been a very good man. Furlong & Carr also good for has got an exceedingly stout man, and Willy Furlong has got very fat and stout also. Matt & Mrs Connor is with me now. They are only beginning to learn the work of the camp. Matt is very industrious and willing. If it's a thing I build the big house next summer, of course the first thing I want then is some one to take care of it. It's probable I may go home for one. If so it may be that some of you will be inclined to accompanying me out to this country again. There's a talks here the Philip Lambert, Ballygilane, is about coming out here I am thinking the longer people stops in that country the worse for themselves, as things is getting still worse every day. And I am quite satisfied that there is no change of laws or anything else likely to be made that can be of any benefit to the tenant farmer, as there will be always some gap left open by which the Landlords will be able to keep the tenants nose to the grinding stone. And in case that Phil Lambert is compelled to come, I consider it a lucky circumstance for him, & to do so, while he has anything to take him, the change is sufficiently proved by what those men can say now, that had to leave home and come to this country under similar circumstances. What surprise people most on their coming to this country is to find it so much different to what

they expected it to be when at home. The generality of people at home thinks we are living in a half civilized, half savage, a sort of desert wilderness such as we read of in Sin-Bad the Sailor, and other like fairy tales. The five years that I was at home, there were a greater change effected towards the enlightenment and the social life and happiness of foreigners living in this country, than there were for all the previous years of its Independence. My Dear Friends, you can with confidence believe me when I tell you (as I have on all occasions been truthful and sincere with you), that either with a family or without one, a man can live more happy and independent here, whether with half or 1/3 interest in a flock of sheep, than the best of your farmers can do at home. And I am sure Jame's 1/3 of Rincon flock is another proof to the truth of what I say. Dear Friends, had I any hope, as could I calculate on any of you ever coming out to this country, I would endeavour to hold on to the whole of my last purchase. The camp no doubt will after some time be worth double the amount that it cost me, or that I could get for it now. Also my position would be more adapted and my means better suited to accommodate you in case either of you or you all would ever think of coming out to us. If there be no man coming from the neighbourhood ~~but the two men~~ (that would likely come out to my place) but the two you send me, you might as well send three men out to me, as I shall want them all. This year we have been very scarce of hands. We were a great part of the time with no man but those that were in charge of the flocks. And William was still worse off as himself and one man had to mind three flocks at the Estancia. I had to put off building till too late a season for want of hands to tend the bricklayers. In my last I sent home a Bill of 8£, two for Frank's mother and six for Moses Browne (Kishee), though the Bill was in William Furlong's name. You have had a nice laugh at the blunder I made of it. Dear Friends, I expect by the time you receive this there will be something of Margaret's wedding whether it is to go on or not. May God and his Blessed Mother direct her for the better, not recollecting of anything more to say now than recommending my love to you all, and believe me to be ever and faithfully your very sincere and affectionate Brother, John Murphy
P.S. Direct your next letter as follows till I see if it come safe, send paper also as I cannot get any.

Sr. Don Juan Murphy
Estancia Flor del Uncalito
Salto
Buenos Aires

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, Undated [June 1865]

Dear Brother, I will let you by next packet have many men I shall send for. I believe Katy Cormack is about to send for one of her sisters. She can come with the boys that I send for. All the people out here is well. James Pender was buried on last week. He died of a broken down constitution caused by drink, as is supposed. He leaves a family: a wife and five children, and badly provided for. Another Irishman from Westmeath threw himself into a well, and was drowned on the same day, all from grog. I can get now of the papers [that] you send me, they are generally mislaid or taken by others. I have no particular news to send you, hoping this will find you all in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing which is the constant wish [of] your dear affectionate brother,

John Murphy

Dear brother, I made a serious mistake in getting out the enclosed bill. In place of being for William Furlong it should be for Moses Brown, Kishah. Mick Brown's father sent to him by daughter Bridget. What caused this mistake was that Mary Furlong was to get me to get out the bill for her, that she sent home two or three months ago, but I could not come to town to

do so. I would get out a new bill but knowing that there will be no trouble about it, as William Furlong will know by his daughter Mary's letter that this bill cannot be for him. I will tell Mary Furlong to write to her father about the matter. You will see by Bridget Brown's letter to her father that the six pounds were for her father, and not for William Furlong. You will be obliged to take William Furlong with you to see the bill cashed. But I am sure he will agreeably give over to Moses Browne the six pounds and the other two pounds to you for Doyle. Your dear brother, J. M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 July 1865

My Dear Friends,

After hoping this may meet you in the enjoyment of every blessing, I take this opportunity of informing that Joseph Rossiter is with me since the 22nd of the last month, and your letters by packet of 6th May I received on the 18th, by which I was glad to hear of you all being in good health, a blessing which we all here enjoy, thanks to the Almighty. You appear not to know perfectly the law with respect to the government lands. I will explain to you. The government heretofore and as still rent land in the frontier to any one that apply for it, but not less than one nor more than three square leagues to any one individual at \$2,000 per league per year, paying each year rent in advance. And you not establishing some kind of stock on it within the first year, you lose your claim to it and your rent paid in advance also. The government gives you a lease of it for eight years and renew it when out, so long as there do no purchaser come forward as the government has reserved the power to sell whenever you or any purchaser come forward to buy, but the tenant in all cases entitled to the preference. All these lands that was once the on the frontier but now considered inside, are now offered for sale, and the new Land Law recently passed compel every man within certain limits to purchase or run the risk of the land you hold being put up to auction. Therefore, those that have good land, or whatever portion of what you hold being good, you had better buy as you will not run the risk of it going to (what is most likely) a much higher figure than the government price. Those that have only a part of their land good will of course buy that part, and the bad or unrefined part there will be no purchase and will therefore remain in your possession as before at the old rent until such times as it's refined and yet good then you can purchase it according to law then in force. My position with respect to the land I have it is as follows. The late proprietor, a Frenchman, had three square leagues of camp rented of the government as above mentioned, the half of which I bought of him or in other words his title of it at \$300,000 for land, houses, etc. and consequently became tenant to the government for same. This camp had some two or three years ago been all coarse not fit for sheep. But about one half that had been stocked during that time has become refined and has sufficient room for six flocks of sheep. The other half like most of the camp about it will become refined by the same operation and will after some time become as valuable as the rest. When I purchased there was then four years of the government lease unexpired at three thousand dollars per year for 1½ league, and on these calculations I purchased. But in a little time after the government, in order to redeem the paper money, made a new law to sell all their land within a certain limit as heretofore mentioned, and of course I as well as others that hold public lands fall within their limits and of said law. I may here mention that the holders of public lands forwarded a petition to government to grant more liberal terms on which account they postponed the sale to the first of next January to consider the justice of the petition, and it's thought the petition will have the effect of obtaining better conditions for the intended purchasers. Now my way of proceeding is (when we are compelled to buy) is to buy the half that's already refined. The

other half I am sure there will no one interfere with and for which I still continue to be a tenant of the government as above mentioned. There is no ____ likely to offer himself as purchaser between the tenant and the government, knowing as they do that the tenant has the preference and will in the end be the purchaser. As he is in possession will not likely let it go providing it's not much above its value. What I must by saying the good half will pay for the bad one, is that the former being of a quality to stock with sheep, that the income each year out of that half will pay interest for the capital laid out for the whole, and also pay the yearly instalments to the government for the purchaser of some with the other expenses concerning it. It frequently strikes me to sell half of it so as to relieve myself of some of the debt, but as often decline doing so and let's the idea postpone. Brother Patt I hear has bought a place alongside mine at Rojas. This speculation will learn him how to live and how to work for it, as he has up to now being fed with a silver spoon in his mouth. He never since he came to this country has eaten his own bit, and the foulest ingratitude he has recently shown for it. Many of the men has been telling me that his carrying on both now and heretofore has in a great measure been owing to the Mrs., who comes very high the old saying at home (make a good poor man's wife) as she is sure never to let him get sick. I cannot say whether from cunning or neglect of duty that I have lost a great deal by him the last year. He was on Uncalito and James did not escape the dodge fear it cost him per Rincón flock about £30 for his part. Dear Friends, we hear of know very little of what's going on in the War Department, and it's so much the better for us. The account we get are very vague and such as would cause great doubts as to the truth of what is really going on. There has been a great number of men taken up out of every district. In that respect the war has been a benefit to us and a greater if they never come back as there are always too many of this sort knocking about. All those that has escaped going is at work very diligent for fear of being drifted off. Also every thing in the camps are flourishing but in the City trade is very dull owing to the difficult of getting money in or raising it even at an interest of 24 per cent per annum. The Banks will not even give money on mortgage property now. What a nice penny my money would have bought for me here had I to have brought it with me. However perhaps it may do something there yet. But you know I've been rather unsuccessful in speculations at home. I hope there will be no disappointment as regards the money for Margaret in case it should be required It's not unlikely that I will be the last of the family to get married, yet at least for what sign there is of it Mrs. K. is here yet there is nothing particular on the wind. Father James Walsh may know something when in Ross. His name was William Roche, kept a wine store and I believe son to a rich Miller in the neighbourhood. We are so busy building that it's only by chance I can spare a moment to write you. As Rossiter is come out to me you need send only two men if there be any coming on their own hook and wish to come out to me send only one. The conditions is as the last: 14 months for the passage to Bs. As. Dear Friends, hoping this may find you all in the enjoyment of every blessing, remain your sincere and affectionate brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 August 1865

Flor del Uncalito

There is no subject before me that I can enter on to. That causes me more delicacy, or I may say more fear than the one which I am now about to write on. I feel a delicacy in the first place in offering an advice to those from whom I should rather seek one, and secondly a fear to disturbing your peace of mind by those continual suggestions of you coming out to this

country, where perhaps it's only myself alone imagine that happiness awaits you. But perhaps I may be one of that class of people that can see no fault, and imagine that our own career through life has been perfect, and should be an example to all others. However be that as it may, I pride myself with the fancy that I have profited myself by the experience I have had of both countries. And knowing as you do the truth of this statement, and the very great interest I take in all your welfare, may cause you to make your own calculations and admit to your consideration those of one that have your interest much at heart. Dear Brother Martin, its unnecessary to enter into any lengthened particulars with you, being a single man. Has no one to look after but yourself, and can at any time determine and proceed as circumstance suit best. But Brother James is very differently situated, and is now advanced to that stage of life, that causes him to look to the future for both his family and himself. This I am well aware has been his constant study, and his exertions has been unfatigued in promoting the comfort and happiness of his family. But Dear James, I know your desires and intentions are worthy of all our thanks, and merit the respect of every well thinking man. But what can these desires or intentions avail you if you are deprived of the means to execute them. This I cannot say that you are altogether deprived of, but it's so limited, and must be so with every tenant farmer now a days, it must be painful to the mind of an honest minded man like yourself. Dear James, you have a large, helpless, young, & fine family about you, some of them advancing to that stage of life where care is necessary, and your expenses ardently to keep them respectable must be more extravagant than theretofore: a liberal education, one of the brightest diamonds in a young woman character should not be neglected. This will at least cost you about 20£ per year, for the same amount yearly they are educated here in the Sisters of Mercy's school, as good as there is in any part of the globe. But mind you how hard it is to get 20£ at home towards in this country, and how much more difficult it is to have it to spare for these very important purposes. In this country the facility for educating children (and the means which is in the hands of every industrious man), are so much different to what it was a few years ago, that myself can scarcely believe it's reality. The daughters of all the respectable Irish families born [in Argentina] and those who arrive to it young, are educated in the Convent, and I believe after a little time are yet more disposed to receive the veil than our young ladies at home. The degree of their education (I mean your family) or the expenses towards it may be limited according to circumstances, but after that they will arrive in succession to that age when other provisions may be necessary, and ask yourself how are you, or how will you be prepared to meet them. You have had trial enough this last ten of fifteen years of what can be made out of farming in Ireland, and have much disposed the landlords are to give you any chance of improving your present position. No to the contrary they are screwing down the tenants by every means they can. I need not mention the steps they take to do so, as it's best known to you that feel it, but I may say that there are no year that pass, that do not add some new law or circumstance to those now existing, to cripple the tenant and make his position still more miserable than heretofore. It is a Blessing to many people at home (that can not do better by leaving) that they know no better, and imagine themselves as well off as their neighbours. But those that are differently situated, I consider them extremely blind to their own interest, by not leaving while they have means to do so, and while the country is still in a position to admit of them disposing to ~~dispose~~ of the little interests which the blood-hounds has not as yet deprived them of. I have just at this moment receive Brother Martin's letter of 6th July, and before I proceed further with my letter I must first acknowledge the satisfaction it gives me to hear of all friends being well at home. I see also by it the prospect of bad crops, and the reduced price of stock this last season, and your remarks about Brother James as to him having fallen far short of his calculations in thinking he would be able [to] manage ~~without~~ this year with the amount realized out of the two places. But these calculations he may make year after year but he will as often be disappointed. I fear this circumstances bear

me out in the view I have taken of your positions at home, and in great measure justify me in many remarks that I have made in the previous part of this letter. However these circumstances coming before me at this moment as they have done, will not induce me to say more than I would have done had I not seen them, as I wrote with the conviction that my calculations of tenant farmers at home was not out of the way. These are many causes which induce people to remain at home longer than they should. The fear, or rather shame they so foolishly entertain of being thought by those neighbours of being under the necessity to leave. But may I ask in what form do they profit by this foolish simplicity? In none whatever, but finally becomes caught in their own net. There is another class of people that entertain a prejudice to every thing foreign, and cannot believe anything real but what is within their own sphere of knowing. They cannot believe that happiness can be formed in any place but where themselves really are, though at the same time if they could but see their position as others do, they would fancy themselves the most miserable beings under Heaven. I am liberal enough to admit that happiness can be enjoyed in every position in life. But we must first make ourselves philosophers to do so, and cultivate the mind to that perfection which to individuals like us I fear would be the most difficult task I know of. This being wanting, we must replace it by something else, and the only thing I know, if that may be within our reach for seeking, is a comfortable and independent way of living. I do not mean that a man should seek or desire to raise himself to opulence. No, I only say a man might be happy and independent without having to overwork himself by mental and bodily labour. But if a man is obliged to have recourse to either of these means to make a living, and even in many cases with the people at home will fall far short of doing so. Now there is one thing I cannot venture to guess at, that is the price farms might bring by selling off now a days. However, one thousand pounds invested in this country will keep a man living comfortable. Even at interest, it will make about 110£ per year by putting it at one per cent, half the interest now paying, and sheep, though low, they, and the wool sold last year, paid double that interest on capital invested in the business.

Dear Friends, This is a long subject for a letter, and perhaps a simple one. However if it interests you no more than even affording you subject for conversation, I do not consider my labour lost. No to the contrary, I well remember how glad we used to be to get any letter from here (be it ever so simple) that would afford us a chance of criticising it's merits. But I am now nearly done with this subject, and I wish you to consider it fully and deliberately, and report to me your opinions on it. I intend to sell half of the camp but there will enough remain for us all. Cousin James Murphy is likely reached home by now. He left here as if he had run away frightened of something. Scarcely any one know of his going. I never knew it till some days after he left. I was very much surprised at his not letting me know of his going. I believe that his brother Joe don't even know whether he expects to come out again or not. He was the best man that we ever known in the country. I may thank himself, Nick Pierce, and Frank Doyle for saving my sheep during the drought of 1863, when brother Patt and family was sporting their figure in town, spending not their own money but mine. Brother William has a hard struggle to clear his place. I am assisting him all I can to do so. He has had the good luck of meeting with a very nice woman his wife. Her sister and brother are living with them. The *Zingara* has left here better than a month ago. Katy Cormack expects out her sister. You will arrange her passage for her. As to the class of men you send out to me, you need not confine your choice to those brought up on a place of their own, as there are many of the servant boys just as good as they. My remarks on that point was merely from the belief that those brought up in places of their own has generally a little better thought of themselves, and has in general a delicacy (somewhat more than the others) in doing a mean act. There has some word came out here of Philip Lambert (Ballygelane), coming out to this country. Had he done so some three or four years ago, when he had something, it would have been better for him. Dear

Brother, As to the course sister Margaret has taken (with regard to her declining to marry Philip Keating), I can give no opinion, as I should wish her to determine for herself, as it is herself the circumstance most interest[ed]. It is a serious business, and one that require serious conversation. We may give an opinion on the matter, but an advice is what the most wise man is not justified in doing. If it's true as you [say] that she has declined for the present, yet she should remember the opportunity may not be long open to her choice, as Philip is so circumstanced that he is not likely to delay long without a wife. Her will is mine and nothing will give me more pleasure than to see that she pleases herself. In my previous letters I said a good deal about the money invested in the N. B., Liverpool. I believe I may now leave you to act according to the best of your own opinions, in conjunction with my remarks in the letters referred to. One thing I may say, that it is doing very little where it is. Had I it out here it would be otherwise. In case you determine in selling off the shares, I should wish ~~that~~ you and James to keep what you require to put you through the year, and in case any call should come on you for any amount afterwards shall with pleasure send it to you. And in the mean time the money could be making something handsome out here. Or in oth -er words, save me of it. Dear Friends, my time is exhausted. The shearing time is approaching. We are all very busy and in the best of health, thanks to God, and I hope this will find you all enjoying the same Blessing in the prayers of your sincere and affectionate brother, John Murphy. I am thankful to you and your informant for the note enclosed which will be attended too. J. M. I get no news papers. Direct them to me as follows:

Sr. Dn. Juan Murphy
Flor del Uncalito
Partido Salto
Bs. Ayres

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 September 1865

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

Having written a long letter by last packet have me but little to say on this occasion, but knowing as I do that you are always glad to hear from us induces me to be writing you a little by every opportunity. My chief reason for writing this letter is, in order you may receive it before the Zingara sail, as the parties you send leave home. I shall also trouble you to send me by Katy Cormack's sister, or any of the others you choose, a pair of blankets, a pairs of shirts, and a pair of good comforter quilts. The seasons are got much colder here now than formerly. I had to be on the borrowing hand last winter. There are also more intercourse between countrymen than heretofore. Visiting is become quite common, and all Englishmen now ride in saddles and consequently they have to be provided with a bed when they come to your house, though being a bachelors hall. Our little priest sometimes stops with us. The season up to now and is yet very dry. The sheep-farmers in many districts are got alarmed on account of this camp got quite destitute of pasture, and many of them are knocking about looking for some place to move the sheep to, and some has had to move more than a month ago. We are still in luck in this neighbourhood. There is no want of grass in Salto, and all kind of animals are fat, and sheep-farmers all in good spirits. I have also the pleasure of informing you that my place and stock at the Caldera (Rojas) are the same, and the camp the flower of that neighbourhood. I was out at the Caldera last week. Patt and family are well. I did not stop with them as I fancied myself a rather an unwelcome guest, though in my own house. William, John Donnelly and Peter Cormack was with me. They stopped at Patt's. We saw his new purchase. I think it will scald him before he have it clear, unless they both alter very

much from what they have been on Uncalito. He consulted neither me nor William about it, though I was speaking with him in Bs. As. when he came in to close the bargain and pay the money on it, which he had to borrow at an interest of 24 per cent per annum. I think this speculation will learn him and her how to live and how to make a living, which they never had occasion to know while on Uncalito. Matt Connor is still with me. He is an excellent man, but Mrs. the worst dispositioned woman I've ever known from Wexford, and the least goodwife to assist her husband to make either a character or a living for themselves. I have to suffer a deal from her on Matt's account. I am looking out for some chance for them to get shut of her, as I do not like to do so otherwise. In a word, she is the greatest liar, the lest goodwife, and the dirtiest woman I've ever known from Wexford. I would recommend every man coming to this country to get married, but I caution them as to the choice they make, as in this depends a man's happiness perhaps more in this country than in any other I know of. I was expecting some time ago to take a horse in to run in the English races, which you see advertised in the Standard for the 1st November, but owing to the shearing coming on I declined doing so. But I will have better time against the Autumn meeting, which generally takes place in March each year. I don't recollect if I sent you a paper with some letters in it about our races last March, by which you may have seen that my horse beat at his ease some very crack- horses that was brought from far off to beat all before them. There are many of the opinion that camps must fall in value, but I am of a very different one, as there are too many looking after them. There are numbers passing in every direction out here coming from inside in search of camps, as the seca this last season has done up these camps in most places. I have not offered my place for sale yet, but intend doing so in a few days. I will stand on a profit by the half. I intend selling at \$50,000 dollars, or about £360 sterling. I will sell it for no less and I don't think I will have much difficulty in obtaining that. I wish you to send me out by the passengers also Ewett's Farier Book on sheep. You will get it at Prendergast's the stationer. I believe the price is 7 or 8s. The breeding of good sheep is much studied now, and the prices of select rams are very high, and are also subject to many complaints as at home. Cover the book with an old newspaper ~~and turn down ————— as if it had been often read over (to save duty).~~ I now remember there are no duty paid on books imported. On the 13th we had a splendid rain for seven hours. It left the camps flooded and without wind to disturb the tranquility of either the sheep or the shepherds. On Uncalito our increase up to now is 37 per cent. I believe the Caldera has done about the same, and I am certain there is no establishment in the country has exceeded like this. The reasons are that I attend to the business, I've good men, we have good camp, I have profitable sheep, and I have what's more than all the blessings of Almighty God in the distribution of his favours. Thanks to his Holy Name the seasons here are very much altered. While in some districts are suffering from droughts and other misfortunes, and others they are helped with rain and seasons suitable to the business of the country. When I commenced this letter I expected to send by the French packet, but missed doing so and I have now the pleasure of informing you that we had another splendid rain on the 17th. It continued all day and night and has completely removed our fears of having to draw water until after our shearing is completed. This is the best season for rain in this country as it leaves abundance of grass on the camp for summer. I was sorry to hear of your leg being bad again it's likely owing to having exerted too much on it during the spring season. You look out for a man capable of sowing the land &c. so as not to be laid up again. I enjoy very good health thanks to God, and give myself plenty of exercise, sometimes more than agree with me. My respect to Father James Walsh, Fathers James and John Kavanagh, and Father John Furlong (Ballygeary). Let me know how the people of Kilrane and Ballgeary are getting on. If James Murphy is coming out again I could now give him a chance on the Caldera as Patt is leaving next season. I hear Margaret Connor has got James Devereux's place. She wrote out to Matt to send her the money he got to pay his wife passage out here.

He of course laughed at the idea. She says he left them beggars though he brought no money with him to this country. I wish I could get a good man and wife from home that has no family nor likely to do. Those that get a family in this country, no matter how poor they are, in place of acting as servants to others should require at least one or two servants themselves. Dear friends, the blessing of God be with you all and remain as ever your sincere and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 November 1865

Buenos Aires

My Dear Friends,

I now, and in good health address you from the city where I have been this last six days. Miss Roche had arrived here a few days previous to my coming to town, by whom I received a parcel for Brother William and a number of newspapers, in which I find entertainment ever since. I consider her health very much improved since she left here, and that she has benefited very much by her trip to Ireland. She says the people appeared so distant and cool to her, she began to imagine she had not many friends amongst them. But James Furlong kindness to her, so different to all others she cannot forget nor be sufficiently thankful. I was also expecting letters by her as having got none by the previous packet, but she had none for me. The War still continues as heretofore, but there are some talks of a treaty of peace between them. I think both parties has got quite plenty of it by this time. Both sides are suffering a deal from diseases, hunger, and exposure, for want of proper accommodation, and material suitable for campaigning. This has been a very good year for sheep-farming in most parts of this country. I can take it on myself to say that *Uncalito* has beaten any other establishment of the size in Buenos Aires for profits this year. For the present I will just give you list of the business up to now. From last May up to the first of this present month, I have sold 1,280 *capones* (wethers) and at the highest prices paid in the camp, ~~which~~ at the time of sale 40 dollars per head since the wool has been taken off them, and 45 per head last June, which was a high figure at that early season. Now as to amount of lambs marked on the Establishment, our principal last March was 9,500 sheep. Deduct from that 1,280, leave 8,212. From them we marked 5,177 lambs, or at the rate of 63 per cent, which perhaps up to this has more been exceeded in any establishment in this country. The sale of the public lands has been further postponed. We have now got up to the first of July '66 before we need purchase, and we don't know what changes may be made before them. This extension of time has been a great service to many, and we still look to a further reduction from government in the prices of said lands before the actual sales take place. If I shall have to buy at that date, the cash invested in N. B. Liverpool would be of great service to me, moreover it being lying there I may say dead. The interest paid for money here now is from 18 to 24 per cent per annum. The bank interest is from 9 to 12, but the principal on which the Bank lend money is very inconvenient for sheep farmers in the camp, and consequently they prefer paying the high interest ~~from~~ to private individuals. When the time of sale comes on I intend to purchase and after securing it to myself as real property, I am on the notion to rent it for some years, selling the sheep thereon to incoming tenants. By effecting this I shall be able [to] clear off all debts and have a handsome balance in hands. You are already aware that by disposing of it in any form, before the government compel us to buy, it would be a great loss to me as I may say, we hold it now for nothing or at least for very little. Miss Roche had been telling me that Frank Whitty's sister and brother-in-law was desirous to come out to this country. I am sorry I did not know that before, as she

says they have no children, for which reason they would answer me very well. I am sorry I did not know this before now, as I fear they will be too late for the *Zíngara*, which I find by your last letter you have yet no account of. You say one of the two you are about sending James Neil's son has not yet made up his mind. What to do and in case his mind be still unsettled, let him stop at home and send out Frank Whitty's sister and brother-in-law in his stead. I am at present very much in need of couple[s] like this, as Mrs Matthew O'Connor has now got the second daughter and she can be of no service whatever to me now. More than that, I fear Matt will be able [to] do little more than attend to her commands, as it had nearly came to that and having but one child. In case you will send Whitty's sister & husband, their conditions is that I pay their passage to Buenos Aires and all expenses outside of that they are account [torn] to me, apart from their passage in case they are not able [torn] in expenses themselves. They have to service me for said [torn] to Buenos Aires fifteen, 15 months each but jointly as a woman's passage is the same as a man, and their wages hire is a little over the half of men's wages. The time they have to serve would have been longer were it not that the exchange is now favourable for them. Your letter of 7th October arrived in due time. It came direct to *Uncalito*. I was in Buenos Aires at the time, but it was sent in to me. The papers I don't know if they came. I was thinking it was Martin Cleary would be coming out as James as you spoke of him in some letter. I spoke of sending home another likeness to sister Margaret, but as often forgot doing so at the time of closing my letters. Of course I have no one now in Buenos Aires with me to do so. I believe I mentioned before about you keeping what money you and James require in case you send out the cash invested in the National B. Liverpool. Therefore I believe I've nothing more to add to what we said in my previous letters concerning it. I am likely to be very busy this year again as I have a good deal to build. I have to build a small house at the Rincon. I intend building a dwelling house at the Estancia, also a wool-room, and large shed for the purpose of shearing under at that season, and as a cover for the fine flock during winter, and as a shade from the strong sun of summer. It is now 9 o'clock p.m. and I am in a hurry to finish this letter so as to leave it to be posted on tomorrow, as the packet sails and I shall be busy delivering my wool, which I sold on today at rather a low price 75\$ dollars per arroba 25 lbs. It had a good deal of burrs in it, which reduces the price very much. Friends, we are all well and I hope this will find you all the same and I remain your dear affectionate Brother, John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 12 December 1865

Buenos Aires, My Dear Friends,

I expect to start for the camp on tomorrow. Brothers William and Patt are in Buenos Aires also. They have come in with their wool. The prices are very low and ordinary conditioned wool's difficult to sell. I have sold mine at 75 dollars per arroba of 25 lb., a price much less than it have been sold for this last eight years. I wrote you by the last packet, but fearing it did not reach you in time to find Frank Whitty's sister and husband by the *Zíngara*. I write you these few lines with further instructions how to act in this case. If it should be happen that you could not or can not send them by the *Zíngara*, and have the cash that's invested in the National Bank Liverpool still at your command, you can send them by the steamers from Liverpool and pay their passage fare. If not, you must only wait for the earliest opportunity that offers. From what Margaret Roche has told me of them, I think they will answer me and I am very much in need of a couple like them. All the people you know of out here are well and I hope this will find all friends in the old country enjoying the same blessing. I cannot dispose of my new place this year as the sales of these lands is not to take place till next July. Even if they do this I shall be able [to] make no changes till the following March. Do not wait for

further instructions from me about sending out Kate Whitty and her husband, but manage to send them as soon and the best way you can. Excuse the short note. I shall write you soon again and I remain your Dear Brother, John Murphy.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 January 1866

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

We have passed another Christmas and out of the old year rather dull as is generally the case in this country, and entered into a new one, I hope with becoming dispositions. It's not too late to wish you all a merry and happy one, hoping at the same time we may all see many return of same. Thanks to God on Christmas Day above all days in the year when myself and all the men that could be spared off the place attended Divine Worship in Salto. It was the will of Divine Providence to visit us with a chastisement, as I may call it a misfortune. My camp and also another neighbour of mine took fire, whether by accident or intent we cannot say, but the like generally occurs from people throwing away a cigar with fire on it, from which the long grass and thistles ignite, which is at this season all like ____ paper. Perhaps I may have prided too much on the abundance of pasture we had (which indeed was remarkable) when most people were complaining for want. And consequently the chastisement may have been decidedly merited. My neighbour (Pacheco) do not feel it so much as I do, as he has a large tract of camp and plenty of room to remove his sheep, though having lost about eight hundred in the flames. As it so happened it blow a strong gale all day, which helped to increase the fury of the flames which devoured every thing before it with the speed of a galloping horse, and it was with the greatest exertion that my men succeeded in saving two of my flocks from the devouring element. On my camp the flames was more fearful as it supplied abundance of food to it's devouring impetuosity. The roaring of the flames was fearful and more particularly when it approached the houses. And although the sheep being all in the corrals yet at one time they were not safe, as there were two of them took fire and we had to leave a man at each of them to extinguish them, as they ignited. About 10 o'clock P.M. the wind fell and my neighbour came over with his men to join with me to try to extinguish it, as there being no wind the flames very much aborted, his men being all natives and had much experience in the business we embraced the offer. They caught a young mare and killed her, cut her open all along the belly, tied a rope to one hind foot and another to a fore and ____ them to two horses, and dragged the animal along the flames, which extended at that time about a league. The footmen followed with wet sheepskins and by tracking on the fire succeeded in putting out any small patches the animal left, and in about three hours all was extinguished. The next day it ignited again, but the day being calm we succeeded in putting it out before doing much harm. The only part of my camp that escaped is the Rincón with the Cañada (or low camp) surrounding it where I am now keeping three flocks. And I have moved out to the new place at Rojas the other two. Unless we get rain soon we shall have to move also. The new place came in serviceable and handy now were it not for it I should be greatly put about. Dear Brother, your letter of November that came posted all through arrived in due course. I think it's the safest and best way to send them. Papers come safe also so far as I have yet experienced. I post this letter here also let me know if it arrives safe and in due time, and whether you have to pay any postage on it or not. The papers I send also let me know the particulars how you receive them. If papers and letters go and come safe this way it's much more convenient for us out here, as we have to neither trust to the honesty of the people in Bs. As. nor trouble them with our business. All the people out here are in excellent health. Mrs.

O'Connor has got another young daughter. William Baggon was with me the other day seeing if I can take him as a medianero (partner) in a flock. I believe he is to go out to the new place at Rojas. Joseph Murphy and Mike Scalan is I believe also going on the same conditions. I happened well to sell my wool though low the price was considered at the time Patt with the wool from outside sold for nine dollars less. William offered the same. Wool now difficult to sell even at reduced prices. The drought is now beginning to cause great alarm in many places. The people is preparing to move their sheep. The Tom Sinnott that Father Parker was speaking to me about that came home from Bs. As. with his son to get a wife for him and the _____ so much in his coach and _____ about _____ is now living in a hut in one of the upper provinces, his son minding a flock of coarse sheep and himself gathering bones and taking them into the town to sell. A bad _____ for Miss Parker had she came out with him. From the letter Matt had from Margaret Connor I thought they were hard up the _____ the old woman _____ed from my [torn].

My Dear Sister Margaret, Though having promised to send you one of my likenesses I forgot doing so by several of my last letters. However indifferent the token is got it will suffice to awaken your recollection of me, and also show you that you are ever uppermost in mine. Margaret Roche told me you looked thin and that you would not like to come to this country unless for to see it. Dear Sister, it affords me happiness in any thing that make you happy, and it would be far from me to cause you, or any other of my friends, to do any thing that might in any way disturb that happiness, as that would cause you a moment regret or sorrow. I am always glad to hear of your happiness and let me know if I can in any way or at any time increase that happiness. But above all let me know if any thing takes place that may in any way disturb that happiness, or if could in any way remove it's cause. Dear Sister, I hope that me, or anything that ascertain to me has been the cause of you not accepting Philip Keating's proposal. I do not recollect if I spoke of sending out the money before the thing took place, or you being aware that I was in need of it out here, was, or did, in any way _____ to induce you to refuse him. I was not interested in it going on unless it was your own individual wish and for the promotion of your own happiness. But I should never forgive myself if I thought that me sending for the money, and you refusing him for the sake of letting it be sent out to me. I would rather it had been thrown over the quay of Wexford than to be the medium of impeding that circumstance, unless it was your own wish to prefer remaining as you are. You know Dear Sister that I am always at your command, though separated we may be by many _____ and people, and though I have sent for the money (which is perhaps now on it's way) yet that, or any other amount is still at your call and convenience. And I entreat you to have no delicacy in making use of _____ my promise at any time or in whatever manner you choose. Dear Sister, It's my desire that you should all keep yourselves up both in appearance and circumstances, as I know you will in principal and honour. I shall be also desirous to know your position and always ready to improve them, and I hope you will always let me know when a season of fortune make it's appearance. Dear Sister, I hope you have made this a happy Christmas, and New Year. I wish you all many return of same Christmas to us. Here is like any other season. I passed New Year's Day at brother William's. The family are all well and I think very happy and contented. He has a sister-in-law and brother-in-law staying with him. They are good people all. Dear Sister, I now wish you and all friends good bye. Send me a few lines _____ in brother Martin's letters. Hoping that this may find you all in the enjoyment of good health and spirits, in the prayers of your ever sincere and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

San Martin, Salto, February 20th, 1866. Dear Brother Martin, I would long since have written you have I anytime of note to communicate, knowing also that John is in constant

communication with you, leave me little news. We are all going on as usual in the enjoyment of good health. Little Kate is growing fast, but from her being so fat it was against her walking, which she has now commences. This year has not turned out so well for the sheep-farmers. Wool cheap. Sheep have also fallen and has few purchasers even at reduced prices. Money is dear. We now pay two wherein we have had it for ½ &c. At this time is owing to the scarcity of paper in the market to pay for our wool, while has greatly increased. Suffice it to say that all are _____ for cash. Numbers looking to _____. Collections difficult. After all we are encouraged by the prospects of good camps. They are just beginning to look green after three-month drought have had plenty of rain and as the lambing season is close to hand we expect to see our flocks in good lambing condition. I was in the city lately. I saw Annie Cormack. She was looking very well. She is in Kate's _____, as Kate's with us. Her mistress having given her three weeks to see her friends, and as she was looking very bad, to see if a trip to the camps would serve her. John arrived from the city yesterday. I spoke to him about getting out my wife's father, mother and two sisters. John advises me, as it's late now to write Captain Stocks of the la Zingara, to write to you that you would be able get them set for me with him, as you have his address, that is Captain Stocks, and John says has given yours to him.

Private

Now, as Captain Stocks thinks that he may be coming out in one of the packets of another company. I wish you to communicate with him only, as his passengers for next trip are coming under his name. The youngest girl is about 12 years, perhaps you will be able get her out for half price. The last sister that came out through _____ Duffy got her a cabin passage. We will write to Father Reville to call see you (he has been long speaking of doing so), that you may have as little trouble as possible and ~~see~~ consult the cheapest mode to secure the passages. Father Reville got out some through Mr. _____ 18 months since for £15. In case you may not know Stocks's address I expect Duffy would forward your letter. Stocks has yet to take in cargo at Montevideo, but I do not know when he may leave there. You can get the passengers out to John or me. Tell James Furlong that I received some seed through Miss Roache, for which I thank him. Remember us to James Murphy. Tell him we are getting on as usual. Give Mick Pierce on the point of moving to John's camp. Old Frank yet on the look out for a place. He has now about 1,500 sheep with about £200 in cash. Simon Gaul has just been with me. Some months since Mr. Moore in _____ wrote to the Captain of the La Zingara to bring out Simon's brother Laurence, but he has not come nor do we know the reason. But should he not have left before Stock leaves be so good as to send him; that is, Laurence Gaul. Captain Stock says he wrote to 30 passengers who failed in coming. Perhaps Gaul is one. Wishing to be kindly remembered to all friends and hoping this will find you all well, I remain your affectionate brother,
William Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 23rd March 1866

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

It's some time since last wrote you and being very busy at present regulating the flocks for the coming year leaves me but little time to write you a long letter now. But you might think that something has happened to us out here. I have the pleasure to inform you in the beginning that we are all in the enjoyment of perfect health and getting along smoothly as heretofore. The late passengers, Moore and Neil are here with me since the 3rd of February and going on well. Paddy Egan went out with John Connor (Ballygeary). I was thinking perhaps it might be

Martin Cleary that was coming, as having spoke of him in previous letters. The new place (the Caldera) has turned out excellent. It has beat us in increase though we thought we played all. As a proof of its quality, there has been numbers wanting to go medianeros (on halves) with me this year. I have accepted four, William Boggan, Joseph Murphy, Nicholas Pierce, and Mike Scallan, so that there will be almost nine thousand sheep on it this next year, beside about two thousand belong to a man that has a place on it rented for this year. We do not know as yet how the Law will course as to the selling of these lands. The Sala will soon meet and it will then likely be determined on, and it's expected that a reduction will be made in the present government prices. William and family and Kate Cormack spent two days and a night with me last week. Kate is out on a visit this last month. Her sister remained in her stead until she returns. Our increase for last year on Uncalito amounts to about four thousand. One thousand of them I sent out to the Caldera, sold (capones) about thirteen hundred, and the remainder about 4,700 remain at Uncalito with the old principal of last year 9,500 leave a principal for this year on Uncalito 11,000 to add. Dear Brother, you will have some passengers to arrange for by the Zingara's next trip. William is sending for some, Mick Browne is sending for his sister, and the man (Cullin) and his wife that you will send to me. I told Captain Stocks any passengers you choose to send I will be responsible for their passage at their arrival out here. So he will bring any you choose to send in my name. People coming out to this country it's necessary they should bring bed and bedding as it's customary in this country for every one to find their own bed clothes at least.

Dear Friends, the Almighty has favoured us very much this year by sending us the rain early, particularly about here and Rojas. The camp is splendid, but farther inside they are still suffering from drought, the camps very hard and no water unless by drawing it. Had the drought continued out here we would be badly off on account of having our camp burned so early in the summer. You say in your letter that Mr. Meadows had been speaking or in other words enquiring for me. I cannot forget his kindness in doing so, neither do I nor shall I forget his kindness and generosity to me when his tenant in Crosstown, generosity unequalled by any in same county, as I considered myself undeservedly entitled to so much kindness from him. You may tell him in case you choose to show him this letter (with its many faults) that I beg his acceptance of my kindest regard and esteem, and I hope he may live many years to enjoy the comfort and happiness of his dear good family. Tell him I yet ____ in single blessedness, but don't know how soon I may change my life for that of a more happy one. The war is still going on but very slowly. There has been one battle lately. A good many officials and men killed on both sides but each party retained their position. It's thought the battle that will decide the war is likely to take place in a few days. It is doubtful which side will gain. I intend sending some papers by this packet also. The news is not much. I am thankful to James for the present of butter he sent me. It is still very good such as we cannot get in this country though [torn] very well secured yet the crock got broken and some of it has passed out through it a little ____ would have been more safe. I intend writing him a letter soon with some particulars of last years' account. This letter has an early date. I send it in Bs. As. with cousin Kate to send by French packet, as I intend starting for Rojas the new place on tomorrow to arrange the flocks out there for the coming year. The Zingara will likely be home about the later end of May, so when ever you think well of writing about passengers include Mick Browne's sister amongst the number. I think Betty or Elizabeth is her name. You might mention it to the father or herself to in readiness. Dear Friends, I believe I have communicated to you all I know of at present worth relating. Hoping it may find you all in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing I sincerely wish you all. Remembrances to all the little ones and I remain your sincere and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 13 May 1866

Bs. As.

My Dear Friends,

The bearer, Mr. Nicholas Lowe, is a friend of mine and a very respectable man. He leaves here on a visit to the old country for a few months, and will during his stay at home see those places and those people whose friends he is acquainted with out here. Knowing him to be a man of respectability and a friend of mine will be to you a sufficient recommendation. He is a man of independent circumstances and of money, years of experience in this country, and whatever information you receive from him you can rely on it to be true and correct. I send by him a locket with chain to sister Margaret as a token of my affection and regard for her. I should have got my likeness taken to go in it, but this I can do afterwards and forward it by letter. I believe his business home is for pleasure and consequently he will be desirous to see anything that will be worth seeing. He is like myself a bachelor, still living in a state of single blessedness, but perhaps may be more fortunate than me when there, and may return with a companion. He is acquainted with a large number of Wexford men. He has done services to many of them by giving them a beginning in sheep, and he is generally very much respected by every one who has the pleasure of his acquaintance. I missed sending a letter by this French packet though I had one written, but I shall write by next English mail. In conclusion I recommend Mr. Lowe to you for any information which he may require during his stay amongst you, and I remain as ever your sincere and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

Clement Reville to William Murphy, 15 May 1866

Wexford Convent

My dear W. Murphy,

I beg to inform you that we buried my sister, Eliza Murphy's mother, on last Sunday. So now when you are writing to Captain Stocks, you will be so good as to tell him that only Patt Roche and his two daughters will be going and as the youngest daughter is under eleven years of age, that the Captain will take her for half price. May I trouble you to let me know when the Captain will be ready for sea, that I may send them to him. With kindest respects to your sister, I remain your ever obliged,
C. Reville

Martin Keough to Martin Murphy, 19 June 1866

Liverpool

34 Regent St.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will excuse me for not hearing from me. I was from home at Hollywell. I was not in good health. The lasingar is expected in the first of next week. Be so kind to remember me to Mr Patrick Kelly.

I remain yours
most truly,
Martin Keough

Fr John Parker C.C. to Martin Murphy, 22 July 1866

I find in the Book of Registry kept in the parish church of Bannow, in diocese of Ferns, Ireland, that Patrick Roche, legitimate son of William Roche and Mary Stafford, was baptised according to the rite of Roman Catholic Church on March 18th, 1807. Sponsors, Patrick Kehoe and Mary Rositter. I find also in same Book of Registry that Margaret Roche, legitimate daughter of Patrick Roche and Margaret Reville, was baptised in Catholic Church of parish of Bannow on 27th August 1830. Sponsors, John Cleary and Ann Parle. And also I find in same Book that Catherine Roche, legitimate daughter of Patrick Roche and Margaret Reville, was baptised 18th July 1853. Sponsors John Furlong and Mary Furlong.

John Parker C.C.

Bannow

Ireland

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 August 1866

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Friends,

By your letter of the 7th June, which duly came to hand, I perceive you had no account of the arrival of the Zingara at that time. Also that you had not received the letter I sent containing the particulars about the bill and the passengers, with the articles they brought me, all of which was right and safely delivered. I see by your letter also that there are some doubts of Cullin and wife coming out to me. I would sooner they stop at home unless they feel as eager to come as I am to bring them. They are to render me no service whatever but what I have to pay them for consequently they please me when they please themselves. As to the premium on the bill, you may tell them in the Bank that their bill would not be accepted by any firm here without paying a discount of (if I remember right) 8 per cent. Bills taken out in any of the United Kingdoms for this country is a losing business. Better for people bringing ~~money out~~ or sending money out here to send it in specia by the Mail packets or other ships by paying freight and insurance on it, which will be at least 3 per cent less than the discount on bills here. But luckily for me that Captain Stocks was taking home money with him. I sold it to him at par. Otherwise, I should have lost heavily as Wanklin, that represents himself as a branch of the National Bank here, offered me £252 for it, which was a discount of £18 off £270, good business that. Dear Brother, I am sorry to hear of the loss you and James had in your young stock at bad season. I fear there is a great deal owing to the attention given them in Ballyconnor during the winter, and I think from the way corn and hay is selling these past years, it would pay to spend it on the young stock, providing they be a good quality. John Cullin told me by a letter from his brother he sold his three bullocks at Castlebridge for £10 each. Other years he says they would have got £14, but they care them well and he says it pays better to use the corn on them than sell it. They sold one loose an animal from the attention given them, and the few head that James and you lost perhaps the corn you sold will not replace them. I have known little losses where cattle was properly attended to, and those trusting to the care of men run the risk of bring more or less neglected. Dear Friends, the times in this country news looked more than at this present moment. All class of business is in a state of stagnation, money scarce, and bills difficult to be collected. The new wool tariff that's spoken of in North America will be a great stroke against the sale of wool in the Bs. As. market, as our principal buyers was North America. This government spoke of putting on an export duty on wool, but they were opposed very strongly and it's probable the profit may fall to the ground. The government had not as yet decided on the sale of the public lands nor have

they settled on the prices. They are getting opposition as to the supposed high price they have been expecting by the previous law of 1864. The best project brought in by the governor was at as redeemed price of 75 per cent, but the people are still demanding a greater redemption, and it's thought they will succeed in setting it. Dear Brother, I see by the Standard of 15th August that the Zingara arrived in Liverpool on the 7th June, and I hope you had an account of her in due time. I note your remarks in the paper you sent me written by pencil, but I do not understand the reason of them being stroked across, unless to induce me not to take notice of them. Brother William has got a young son last Friday. They were all well and ____ since then. I [torn] nothing but I am on my way there now to [torn] and it was only the day of her confinement I left there, being over to see them. There has no letter yet arrived, but perhaps I may get one at the port now, if not I may get some particulars from William, as I expect he may have got one from the Mrs.'s friends. The last letter I sent was stamped to go post _____. Let me know if you receive as such. This shall also leave post paid. The sheep and camps out here are in splendid condition, but in many places they are still suffering for want of pasture, and the heavy storms of rains we had lately. Capones (weathers) are selling at 45 dollars, but I am holding out for higher prices, as it's ever difficult to get animals now fit for the market, unless about here. I forward with some papers a small pamphlet titled The Emigrant's Guide, written by a particular friend of mine, the contents of which you may rely on to be genuine. If at the People office they would undertake to print some copies of them, I think they would sell well and would also be of great service to those that think of emigrating to this country. I recommend it highly. The author is also a constant correspondent to the Standard. He wrote very good articles. He signs himself Dick. No letter this packet. All the boys well. My love to brothers and sisters, and I remain as ever your dear and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 September 1866

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother & Friends,

James letter of 7th August duly came to hand bearing to me that information which I am always so rejoiced to hear that of your enjoying good health, a blessing I have the pleasure of informing we also enjoy out here. Dear Friends, the sheep business out here is going on with usual activity, and satisfactorily to those that mind as well as understand it ~~their business~~. It is true there has and continue to be great losses in many parts of this and other provinces, but it's chiefly owing to the absurd and unprofitable system of overstocking the camp they occupy, a system that has proved ruinous to many. I say too late, because many of those saw not the evil consequence the camp has been to run out that not even the roots of the grass are left so that their camps must be disoccupied until nature replaces what man (through his want of better knowledge) has destroyed. Sheep are selling at about 5 dollars per head, less than last year. The average price about 35 dollars, but numbers of sales made at much less price but under some peculiar circumstances from 15 to 20 dollars, capones (weathers) are selling at 45 to 46 dollars. I sold on my new place (Caldera) for 45, which has surprised all about here, as there has been no higher price than 45 within 18 leagues all round though I refused selling for 46 a few days since. Last year I proposed to three or four friends to sell half of Caldera to them, but they declined, appearing to take no interest whatever in the place, whether their idea was that I should through necessity be compelled to sell it at a very reduced price, or that I had found out too late that my purchase was a bad one. It is evident that one or both these reasons were their motive for not dealing with me, as they were at the time in need of land. They have been since speaking to me about it, but I shall take care to let them (as they have been this last

8 or 9 months) dance on to the time of disappointment. These same men are looked upon as clever, experienced persons, but their self-opinion of a far seeing-capacity deceived them in the first place, and secondly they find but too late I am no peddler and am not to be trifled with in these matters, which leave them going by the walls as if blind folded. The Caldera this last year has established a character for itself that at least increase it's value one thousand pounds. In fine, my Dear Friends, I may say, and without exaggeration, that so far as temporal matters go I am of the fortunate in this country, thanks be to the Almighty as it's him alone we may thank as we can do nothing of ourselves. Uncalito continues to rank first amongst the sheep-farming establishments. It's increase and produce of stock is not surpassed and seldom equalled in this country. Though small it yields pleasure and profit to all concerned. I keep no men about me nor on the Caldera, but proper, well-conducted men that mind their own business and nobody else's, and keep clear of those drunken brawls which too often occur between Irishmen in the villages and other public places. Consequently are more deservedly entitled to respect and for same reason my establishments are more or less a model ones. They are all Wexfordmen. At Uncalito I have Frank Doyle, Mr. Brett, James Howlin, Nicholas Pierce, Peter Cormack, Laurence Neill, James Moore, John Cullin, and John Power from North America, late of Muckstown. On Caldera, William Boggan, Joseph Murphy, Nicholas Pierce (Jacksonlane), Michael Scallan, Mick Browne, Andy Pierce _____, John Furlong, Ferry Town, and George Furlong to be next year. In all, 17 sober and industrious men. Dear Friends, you will excuse this long passage of _____astic. Revolution I fear it will not be very entertaining to you but the want of something else more entertaining cause me to make a letter with such as I have got. The War is still going on but as to it's probable result we cannot guess. I send you the papers to judge for yourself. The prospect of wool this year is not so favourable owing to the extra import duty put on wool in North America, which will have an injurious effect on the Bs. As. wool market.

Dear Sister Margaret,

You will before this time have received the little token I sent you by Mr. Lowe (the locket). I here enclose you the likeness for it. Cut it to the size to fit the locket, which of course can be only the head and part of the shoulders. I got it taken in Salto, and is as well done as might be expected. Chain and locket is warranted to me pure gold. Tell me what of Philip Keating, is there any likelihood of the business going on or is it down away with altogether? You know nothing could give more pleasure than to hear of you getting married, providing you get one to your satisfaction. And I know you have since enough to accept of none but those whom you expect to offer you happiness. I am still single myself, but soon, very soon, expect to change my life, as a single life to a man of my age in this country is miserable and disagreeable en every sense. Pray for me, which I know you will, that I may get one that will not only make me happy, but also tend to increase that happiness which I feel in the welfare of my dear friends at home. If I thought that my union with any woman would in the least diminish that regard and attachment that I entertain for my dear friends, I would repeal the idea for ever and console myself with the happiness of being loved by them alone. I am glad to see that poor brother Martin's leg is improving. I have left myself little room to make any remarks on his letter. I note his remarks about the passengers, also about the £4 to W.

Furlong. Tell brother James that I gave him credit for the said £4 in his last year's account, and if it be convenient to him to pay to Willies uncle the £2 he got from him. W. Furlong left me (but agreeable to both) owing more than that amount, but he will pay me yet. Tell Mr. Stephen Hore that I saw Robert about 10 months ago. Himself and family are well and I believe doing well. I note about Frank's mother. I will speak to him. We are busy preparing for shearing, which we commence on 2nd next month. Your papers come _____. My kind love to all and I remain your sincere and affectionate brother,

John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, Undated (after May 1867)

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother Martin

Furlong & Beyrne. The passengers has all arrived safe. The latter two appear very responsible young men. Roche I fear well turn out no great thing. It seems if he had got a lecture in the Camp Catechism from some false friend. I rather suspect Ennis, whom I put away a little after his arrival but not before he poisoned him, as he has shown a deal of his (Ennis') bad points. Tell James Pender's people that he is a very good boy, and that I think he will do well in this country. He has sense sufficient not to be very much influenced by schemers. Furlong I have given him employment till I find a vacancy for him some other place as I do not need him. Up to now it has been the finest season I have ever seen in this country. At present though the middle of winter it's more like Spring or Autumn. Heavy rains at intervals followed by unusual hot weather, which have the camps almost with too much pasture. Sheep for this season are in many places are very lame and rather subject to looseness in the looseness in the bowels. These complaints though not causing deaths, yet interfere with the sheep fattening, as they would otherwise do were the pasture much shorter and less abundant. The fencing is going on rapid and at present much to my satisfaction. In the beginning they knew little about the work, but I instructed them in all its branches in which they were very rarely and willing to adapt. They commenced on the 18th May and since then up to the present they have completed about yards. There are nine men at mark and are earning about 35 dollars or 5s-10d or 6s per day each. They save about 5s of that per day each, as their expenses are very little. I supply them with meat but nothing more, but that is their principal food, which for working men is the best. I am just begun to take advantage of the fencing. I have mixed two of the flocks in one, consequently save one man's wages 3 £ 12s per month for a beginning. In another month I shall be ready to make a like change. The most of the landed proprietors are beginning to take a very different view of having camp fenced in to what they did in the beginning, and the few that oppose against it now are those that do so through jealousy or not being able to follow the example set them. My camp its true-enjoyed those advantages for fencing it, in that few camps do. There is no road through it which according to the law should be left open, which circumstance render the fencing in of a camp almost useless. We have to have according to law 5 yards wide of our camp outside the line of fence for road way in case neighbours fence in also. The job will stand much above what I at first anticipated by the time I reckon my own men's work in cutting the posts and wire around the camp, and to the different places where the work is going and the posts which have a very thick bark I have to take it off that post which go in the ground, otherwise when the bark would rot the post would become loose then the need to use all help to make the grand total some 400 £ more than the amount first given. But from the fact of system I struck out last year proving successful (that is in the posting out sheep and wethers and putting them on the best of the camps to fatten). I think I will be able to square yards with my accounts after the wool season, that is providing the Rojas Camp stands to me as it did last year, which up to now the season shows no obstacle. One thing I must trouble you for is to send me out a pair of flannel drawers by the first that is coming out to this neighbourhood, as the flannel out here are too fine & thin for winter season.

Dear Brother, this is a year that I must inevitably be under a heavy expense. I have to keep more men than the other years at the Estancia in order to get through the work [of] arranging the flocks and classifying them in order to commence on May [a] new system of farming, a system that cannot fail to be of the greatest possible advantage over the old system. All the practicable sheep farmers that I have spoken to admit that the undertaking under the system

~~that~~ I am about to carry it out, will prove the first and most important and undertaking yet known for the advancement of sheep farming business in this country.

I have just got through with my marking of lambs for this year and may stock at present stand exactly 17,000 seventeen thousand head, two thousand of these I intend to sell fat and allowing one thousand for deaths and consumption, the balance will be about my principle for next year, which is about the same as that of present year. Peter Cormack and James remain with their proportionate interest till March 1871 of 1/20th part of the whole stock. James is at present 1/16th part owner and Peter is 1/50th. At March, Peter is to buy the number that will establish him 1/20th owner and will then be entitled to that interest in the whole. Next March please God I will be able [to] give you the particulars of all on the new system I intend to carry out the business for the future. Ellen sends her love and says that you would much oblige her by sending out by first person coming to this neighbourhood three or four lbs. of Worsted, white. We are all well and desire kind love to all Dear Friends in Haysland. I have but little time to write you. Please accept this for the present and believe me as can your Dear Brother John J. Murphy

P.S. Dear Brother

Send me out as quick as possible the woman, or word of her not coming as the matters leaves me at present not at liberty to look after any one. J. J. M.

I am beginning to think that the two straps wanting belonging to the Harness, that they are not reckoned as a part of Harness but as a part of the Coach and for that reason Hore did not send them. However if they belong to the Harness I may as well have them as not. Otherwise I do not need them as I have got some here that will do. J. J. M.

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 23 June 1867

San Martín, Salto

Dear brother Martin,

This day yours of the 7th May came to hand and I am very sorry to hear of you been caged up again with your leg. But I hope by the time this reaches you that your will be up and strong. Through Father Reville we heard of your illness and of Bess having a young daughter &c. Now as to the passengers per La Zingara I suppose John has already made you acquainted of all the passages been paid and I think that Royden should have had account of same, if not through negligence of his agent here, at whose office I called twice without seeing him, and finally had to leave the money with Messrs. Barry & Walker for him. This was in January within 2 months and five days from the arrival of the La Zingara. I think Captain Stocks is much to blame in the affair, as he should know us by this time, and a word from him I think would have been sufficient when Kate Cormack and Anne McGrath came. Captain Sanders received the amount from Mr. Allison, a particular friend of Royden's agent, ~~and~~ without any order of mine more than his knowing me, John would have settled with Stocks. But he only seen him once while in towne. This finally takes place generally after a call in Stock's. Should I meet him when I go to towne next month, I shall know more of the business. Not that the passengers not coming is my disappointment to me, but I consider it rather too smart of Royden & Son. I note your remarks as to Stafford and Hays and I am rather glad of their not coming. In the first, any man who can make a decent living in Ireland can have a shilling when in need would think little of this country, especially this class of people who have no ambition of ever bettering their situation (such as Jem Moore). Mr Roche speaks very well of Hays, but from what you say of his going through the farmers working at his trade, I consider he would be rather too dry & comfortable for this country. So we will leave him for the

present. With this note Eliza writes to her uncle about a first cousin of hers, so that in case he approves of his coming he will let you know. If not I will leave it entirely to you to choose one, for you should by this time be as capable of doing so as ourselves. Don't object to a man for having a little pride or spirit, which too many of our countrymen are short of. And think nothing of stooping to little mean actions. Let them not come here to avoid hard work or with the impression of making a fortune in a few years and returning, ([like] John Cullen) but to meet the world as if meets him on with a determination on his part to do his best to advance himself. I think it would not be out of place in asking intended immigrants what their prospects would be on leaving Ireland. For these come-day go-days contented with a full belly and Sunday for themselves to meet and chat of their neighbours had better remain at home. You can show down Micky Pierce as an example. He has I think sent home upwards of £120 and is in a join way to independence. Also, old Frank Whitty, who can now ride a good horse and go where he please. But I expect you ____ twice of this _____. John is married and has got the best figure of a wife, and the tallest in all Salto partido, or perhaps all the camp (rather strong talk but true), and one whom I have no doubts will make him happy. The above allusion to Mrs. John will not hope had you to think Mrs. William far behind her. No. My Katy is now 2 years & 8 months old, & always in mischief. The little fellow 10 months, not yet walking but very fort and healthy. For myself I am as gray as men who might be my father but thank God I enjoy good health, and I hope this will find you, dear brother and sisters and all friends enjoying same. Eliza joins in wishing to be remembered to all friends and [torn] Same from your affectionate [torn] brother,
William Murphy.

PS: Perhaps I will write from B. Ayres next month, but don't you put yourself to the least inconvenience in sending out any one.

Receipt from Mayglass Parish, 5 July 1867

[text in italics is hand-written, otherwise text is printed]

Barony of Forth,
N^o

Parish of *Mayglass* N^o 2 Townland of *Crosstown*

Received this 5th day of *July* 1867, from

Mr. *Martin Murphy*

the Sum of £--:4:8 being the amount of County Cess payable

by *him* presented at Spring Assizes 1867, being at the rate of 8d. per Pound

on £7:0:0 value,

for GEORGE W. OGLE, High Constable,

£--:4:8 *Nicholas Fortune*, Collector.

Francis Doyle to Martin Murphy, 28 July 1867

Dear Sir,

We landed in Dublin about 8 o'clock, and had a very pleasant passage. Dr Barry behaved very well with us. He called us aside and gave us a glass of brandy each when we landed. We got

out our boxes and hired a car to take them to the vessel. She is lying just against the office door. James Sanders met us at the packet office and welcomed us also. We lodged last night where Sanders stops. We left our boxes on board in care of the watch man. We seen the mast and was talking with him. He is a very fine man seemingly. I went to the office this morning to see if we could chuse our berths. The mast took us down in the vessel and gave us our choice, as there was no berths taken up. We chuse mid-ship for our party by the direction of the mast. He said it was the best. The families and single girls are going behind in the vessel. Mr Murray told us that he would meet us on board this evening on tomorrow morning, but he don't think that the vessel will go until Friday or Saturday. No more at present from your obedient servant,
Francis Doyle

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 August 1867

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

As brother William was in Bs. As. a little time ago, and as I having the money at hand I thought it better to choose an early opportunity to send you same. Consequently, he wrote by French mail enclosing therein a bill for eighty pounds sterling (£80), which I hope you will receive in due course. It is true I owe a good sum of money yet, but that is no reason I should let you be short as I can get any amount I require here for asking at the current interest.

Another thing you cannot look on this is an act of generosity, as I owe something about that amount to brother James. The Exchange is very much against sending home money now, and William was on two minds when in Bs. As. whether he ought to send it or not. I feel thankful to him for not having called on the money before now, as I know you must have needed it. I enclosed the second bill in case the first did not reach you safe. Of course you know the one bill, whether 1st, 2nd or 3rd is sufficient to present to the Bank for cash. This is a season that money is rather scarce with us in the camp. Were it not for that I would have sent a nuptial token to sister Margaret, but I am sure such is not necessary to convince her that she is still, and always will be, dear and remembered by me. I hope by the time this will reach you that you will be quite recovered and that your leg has made the last attack on you, and that Margaret, James and all his family are in good health. My dear friends, this winter has been and still continue to be very dry, and the heaviest frost that we ever seen in this country. The camps in most places are bare of pasture, and many have to move their flocks and some that cannot move for want of camp to move to their sheep are dying very fast. The neighbourhood of Rojas, that is my new place, the Caldera, and many leagues all round are suffering, but it may appear strange to you that the sheep on my place are doing well. As a proof of that they sold capones (whethers) 380 the other day at the same price we sell at inside. The camp no doubt is bare but good camp will support sheep almost at any season. Brother William brought out three men to me from town, and of them a son to a Mr Richards (Wexford), and had a letter to me from Mr Richard J. Devereux M.P., the other two shipmates of his.

Englishmen. I have them engaged for six months. Laurence Neil has left me. I was desirous to keep him and do something for him as he was a good boy. Frank Doyle as mentioned in a previous letter has also left me. I preferred him a chance in sheep but he kept peddling about them as he used to do at home with you, so I took him at his ward though he little expected it. I mentioned in a previous letter to let me know how much his mother had received from you on account, and to give her no more neither on his account nor mine, as I wish to close account between him and me and have nothing further to do about it. The sheep on Uncalito are doing very well. I sold a troop of capones (whethers), 660 about a month since at 35

dollars, and expect to sell more before shearing. The increase up to now has been reasonable, about 30 per cent. August 22nd. My dear brother Martin, I wrote the first part of this letter a few days ago not expecting to have received on the 20th inst. such ____ly news from home. The death of poor sister has thrown us all into a state of grief, not altogether for her demise, but the loss she must necessarily be to her forlorn husband and his helpless little family. There has now a great duty devolved upon him, a duty which I am sure he is well disposed to perform. God grant him strength and fortitude to support himself under the trying and unrecoverable loss he has sustained. He has always been a kind and loving husband and I am sure he will prove himself so a father to the dear little ones, whose smiles bespeak their innocence and whose affects are now made to him alone. How lucky and how glad I feel that I sent home the money so soon. I hope he have received it all right. At this present moment all the consolation I can offer to her poor afflicted husband is to condole with him, pray for those who are now no more and to God to supply her place with those blessing which he knows to be most essential to other future happiness. It is well that a part of his family has grown up sufficient to be of great service to him, now that they are come to the years when reason and since replace innocence, and I am sure they possess that most essential quality in proportion to their years. This, with poor sister Margaret's council and advice, will serve much to lighten the burden and console the anguish of a beloved husband and disconsolate father. Dear brother, it is as well not to afflict you too much by a long letter on this subject. We must reconcile ourselves to the will of God and by of him to prepare us for his call. And may the Lord have mercy on those who is now gone before us and admit her to his divine presence. I leave for Bs. As. tomorrow morning, and will have a part of this letter to finish before I post it. All the people out here are well. Poor Tom, Cady, late of Lammer Hill, has been murdered about six weeks ago by a French Basque. Shot him in the camp, supposed to be without any provocation. The murderer is still in prison. Owing to bad weather I could not leave for Bs. As. on the 23 but expect to start tomorrow the 25th, as I will have time to spare to post this letter for the packet I must finish it before I leave. I send some papers also. They will give you an idea of how the war is going on. They speak of an expected battle every day, but to get there has been nothing done worth relating. The native gentlemen of Salto are getting up a public race course. They are assisted also by the foreigners. I am appointed Vice-President of the Committee. Brother William has also an appointment as one of the Committee. The work is commenced. There is also a bank branch of the Provincial Bank of Bs. As. established in Salto, and there is now a project before the house to extend a branch of railway to Salto. So you see, Salto is going ahead. The latter project is what we are most interested to see carried out. So farewell dear friends, wishing all the blessing the Almighty can bestow I remain your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

PS. It was the wishes of Father Leahy that I should take the additional name of James at my marriage. J.J.M.

Enclosure in John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 August 1867

Cheque of the London & River Plate Bank, 10 July 1867

[text in *italics* is hand-written, otherwise text is printed]

due

London & River Plate Bank, Limited

Buenos Ayres, 10 July 1867

£80.-

At days after Sight pay this Second of Exchange

(First and Third of the same tenor and date being unpaid) to the order

of Martin Murphy Esq. the sum of

eighty pounds

sterling Value received

To the Bank of Liverpool,

Liverpool

For the London & River Plate Bank Limited:

A. E. Smithers, Manager

Geo. Warden, Accountant

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 September 1867

Flor del Uncalito

Dear brother Martin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th August, and am glad to find all friends in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing which I hope you may long continue to enjoy. We had a letter also from Rev. C. Reville congratulating us on our marriage and giving us his blessing. He also says that you are much better than you have been this long time, and that he was to be the next day at poor Sister's ____ mind whose death he very much regretted on account of the large family she left to ____ her loss. Dear brother, we are all well, in the possession of good health thanks to God for His Blessings, and getting along much as usual in our business. This has been a very dry winter, and some parts has suffered severely in consequence. About here the camps are pretty fair, water scarce, but stock in good condition and doing well. Señaled (marked) lambs about 33 per cent, which is considered reasonable for good years. We are busy now preparing for shearing, which we expect to begin on the first of October. There is no talk about or at least nothing talked of so much as our great races that is to come off on the 25th inst. There is to be four prizes, a Members Cup, a Members Plate, a Saddle & a Bridle whip & spurs for ____, and open to all English-speaking people. This will be a great day, as all our previous races has only been preliminary ones to the great races that is to follow each year. Dear brother, as to the proceedings of Thos. Royden & Son I fancy there is a slight attempt of ____ing from the fact of them having said that they had been speaking to their agent Wilks, and that he said there were no passage money paid to him on our account. That I believe to be an untruth, as Wilks could not deny it as his receipt is here in Barry & Walker's hands, and this thing he likely have showed them his books on his arrival in England, as he took them with him. Pay no further attention to their demands, as Barry & Walker will likely write to them on the subject. As to the numbers and passages once the mistake was that Mr. Roche and his daughters was paid by his daughter in Bs. As., altogether unknown to us out here, and we only came to find it out by your speaking of four passages only, and which they also mention in the note to you, now at home. These two and half passages they have to refund to us again, as we paid for all the passages to Wilks, their agent, and have a receipt to that effect. So you can tell Royden & Son that in case they should trouble you any more about it. Father Reville speaks of a young man coming out from Dublin to me, of the name of Power. I don't know the family. Young Farrell has left me. I fear he will do nothing for himself. Edmond Hore has also left me but he is a steady boy. So far Young Richards is going

on well so far, and may continue so if he remains amongst sober people. Otherwise it's doubtful. The two English men I've got is very sober, reasonable men, and very ready and obedient to do any thing they are told. Farrell after knocking about some time came back, but I did not employ him. If there be any one coming out from that neighbourhood send me out ½ lb. of horse carrot seed, and about 1 stone of spring oats. I want to see if they grow in this country. I am sure the carrots will. Brothers William & Patt is since yesterday at my place with their horses preparing for the races, and to get a trial with mine. I have but little time to write much this time, as we are so busy preparing for the shearing. All the people I know about here [torn] well. Andrew Pierce got a bad hurt from his ha ____ [torn] ____ lling on him, but he is fast recovering. There [torn] been no bones broken but got a severe bruise in [torn] ____ ick of the hip. I send you papers ready [torn] I don't know if you get them. You [torn] by them that the war is still going [torn] much as usual. It is thought it will be a drawn battle as all the Allies and the Paraguay has got their fill of it. The season still continues to be very dry, and great fears are entertained of a seca (drought) this summer, and if the summer come in without rain there will be great losses through the country. In conclusion I hope this will find all friends in the enjoyment [torn] good health. Mrs. and all friends [torn] to be remembered to you all and I remain [torn] your dear and affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

Captain Sanders to Martin Murphy, 1 October 1867

Thomas Royden & Sons,
Ship Builders, &c.
5, Baffin Street,
West Side Queen's Dock
Liverpool
Memorandum to Mr. Martin Murphy
Haysland,

We received your note of the 27th ult. in due course. I was really surprised at the content. I was not aware that we ever was wanting in courtesy towards any of our Irish Friends, which from the numerous testimonials received by Capt. Stocks & myself during the time we commanded the "La Zingara" and "Istria" will fully testify. The part of your brother's letter you forwarded to us was, as we are aware, duly returned. And with respect to an agent in B. Ayres we never had any authorised one there. But Mr Wilks from past favours received from me while in the trade offered his services gratuitously to collect or receive any monies. Parties would pay him on our account. ____ this explanation will satisfy you for although tired from that particular trade we should be very sorry to think that we forget Old Friends, & by addressing me to the above address shall receive any correspondence you may favour me with.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 October 1867

Flor del Uncalito
My dear friends,
Your letter by French packet I duly received containing an acknowledgement of the £80 I sent you. It was for brother James as may be seen from the account I afterwards sent him, and am glad you received it so opportunely. Dear brother Martin, Were it not for the heavy rain of last

night I should scarcely have time to write this month, as we are tooth and nail at the shearing. I am almost finished and when done, brother William commences with the same set of shearers, about 25 hands and as many more children and an equal number of days which keep the place somewhat like ~~the~~ a lunatic asylum in a large city. The season has been very dry to now, and rain has been badly wanted in most places. But the weather has now changed and we may be favoured with plenty of rain before the summer's drought set in, that is what we look for at this season. Our English races passed off on the 25th last month. There were about two thousand foreigners and all the respectable natives of the surrounding partidos. Partido, or parish, is a district of country ~~occupying a space of~~ extending ten or twelve leagues in diameter each way, say a space of 100 square leagues. We whipped all before us. I won the Cup and brother William won the Plate with one of my horses. Wexford won all that was seen for our namesake Murphy. From _____ won the saddle, which so much enraged the Ballinacarryas (Westmeath people), that they collected in a ruffianly mob and so much disturbed the peace that the races had to be broken up. I could have won some hundreds of pounds had I been a gambler, mine being a young horse untrained and his antagonist a celebrated racer. Peter Cormack rode. The mob headed by the owner of beaten horses (I mean the horse that pushed mine as there were only one out of the six that run done any thing) got so ruffianly excited that they insulted the people of all nationality. Even the Clergy did not escape their blogardeism and I am glad to say that there were not a single individual of any other county mixed in. _____, our clergyman of both parishes has on these last two Sundays told them what they are and the disgrace they have been to all Irishmen in this country. I will send you a paper with the report of the races. When I have an opportunity of sending it ~~hope~~ that it may reach you safe. I have sent you papers by every English mail post paid, but I am surprised to find they do not reach you. There must be a service loose some place. I will send no more until I go to Bs. As. to make enquiries about where the flaw is. The Paraguay War still continues with as little sign of a finish, as it had eighteen months ago. The Paraguayans has defended themselves gallantly against the Allies, and has up to now kept them at a regular stand still. I expect to be in Bs. As. about three weeks time as I expect to load my wool very soon. All friends are well. The wool is very clean this year with the exception of some bur that remained in the wool from the want of rain through the winter to wash it out. This will be the greatest fault in wool this year. You will excuse my hurried letter. I don't know if you be able make out all my scribble. In this my love to all and I remain your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 November 1867

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

I am in the eve of leaving for Bs. As., and for that reason I think it better to write a part of my before I leave here, fearing the time I may have to spare in the city will be but little, as generally is the case at this season. My principal object for writing to you now is concerning the question of the passages so long in dispute, as at least so long concealed in mystery. The whole thing turns out to arrive almost to a swindle between Barry & Walker and Wilks the agent. Royden & Sons' letter that you sent us brother William immediately enclosed it into Barry & Walker, and a receipt of same. They wrote out to him that they never paid the money, but Wilks before going to England told me he had received it all right. But what I believe to be the case is that Wilks owed money to Barry & Walker and that they regulated this account with it, and consequently never entered it on the ships' Books, or that Wilks to oblige Barry & Walker left them the money and merely told me he had received it. William

on leaving the money with Barry got a receipt from him, and told him to get a receipt from Wilks for it. The first time I went to Bs. As. I asked Barry to let me see the receipt he got from Wilks, but after some shuffling about and as he said so busy that he should let me have it another time. But me not having his receipt to return him I could not demand it, though I suspected at the time there were something wrong. The reason of the misunderstanding concerning the passages of the Roches Family was owing to William's sister-in-law that's married in Bs. As. having paid their passage on their arrival. And William when he went to pay the money knew nothing of it neither did he for a long time after. As I go to Bs. As. now I may be able say more to you and the matter as I am likely to handle these gentlemen somewhat roughly. Bs. Ayres, 21st. In relation to the passage money I find at my arrival here that neither Barry & Walker nor Wilks has done any thing about it. I have now paid the amount £64 to Captain Sanders' son, who is leaving here for England. His father is part-owner of the Zingara. I got a part of the cash from Barry & Walker, and took goods out to the value of the remainder as it's well to get it any way. I have sold some of the Uncalito wool that came in early at 60 dollars per arroba 25 lbs. The Rojas wool I sold this week at 54 dollars per arroba, So you see the fall in the market in a few days. I have got but little time to write, as I am very busy preparing to start for outside tomorrow. The train starts at 6 o'clock A.M. and I conclude by hoping this may find all in the enjoyment of good health, is the prayers of your dear and ever affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 December 1867

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

The first news, and that which I believe will be most interesting to you all is the enjoyment of good health, which I am happy to inform you we all here are in perfect possession of, thanks to the giver of all gifts. The season has, and still continues to be, very dry. We are preparing to draw water as there is none now in the camp, unless in large rivers, that never go dry. There is plenty of grass, at least with us, but is now getting dry and seasoned that for the future we shall have to provide the sheep with water to keep them in a healthy state during the summer. The langostas (or in other words the locusts) is causing destruction to the camps in other neighbourhoods, but they have not yet reached near here. They clean all the camp as they go when very plenty, but that doesn't happen every year. The profits in sheep-farming has gone down very much these last two years owing to diverse causes, but the principal one is that all the good land suitable for the business is already I may say over-stocked, and there is not consumption in preparation to the increase, and it's come to that now that people scarcely know how to dispose of them. Every one wanting to sell, and no one desirous to buy sheep at prices a little more than nothing. There are thousands wanting to sell now, and would be glad to get 2s. 6d. per head for sheep that a few years ago would have got purchased anywhere at 8s. a head. There are many establishments now through the camp for rendering down sheep for the fat. This will prove a means to keep down the increase, so soon as all the land owners get them erected on their establishments, strangers which process sheep will be brought to a certain value in proportion as they pay by melting down. From the way the sheep-farming business appear to cause now, I cannot but think that after some time the business will be confined to the owners of landed property, or at least I should think in a great measure. Otherwise, new on rented camp, or in partnership, must bring themselves to live again as they did some twenty years ago, that is live on meat alone, and very little clothing, the latter which is now selling at about 300 per cent over than at that date. Groceries &c. at

about 400 per cent. This latter class of sheep-farmers are principally those that are selling sheep at the above prices. They are forced sales, and the only purchasers are the creditors, so this is the principal cause why sheep are selling at these reduced prices. If we only had means of disposing of stock as it increase earn at this reduced price of say twenty dollars per head (3s. 4d), the business would earn them on well managed establishments pay from 18 to 20 per cent on the capital invested. The cry on all sides is that sheep-farming don't pay, but the majority of people take a very superficial view of the business. Those that bought sheep some four years ago at 50 dollars each, and lease at one million dollars the league, and have to sell now at 1/3 that price, no doubt have lost heavily. But if a man only value his stock and land at the price it's worth today, I say the business pay good interest on his capital invested. This last way is I think the just way to view the matter, because in opposition to the first case I with thousands others that bought sheep at 4 dollars are low at from 60 to 100 thousand the league, might argue the point, and with justice say that sheep pay enormous profits. Dear brother, you may continue on giving the money to Frank Doyle's mother. He says if you think a little more would be necessary to keep her, to let her have it, say a couple shillings more in the month if you thought it necessary. I got clear of Barry & Walker & Wilks pretty well. I took up the amount in groceries and squared my account with them and then paid the amount (£64 due to Royden & Sons) to Captain Sanders' son, who [torn] on his way home. He has a perfect knowledge [torn] whole transaction. I am loading the [torn] of my wool now and expect to go to Bs. As. about the first or middle of February, or perhaps sooner. We are commenced sending in troops of fat sheep to the slaughterhouses in Bs. As. to be killed on our own account. In these establishments they charge so much per head for slaughtering and melting them down. I sent in from here before shearing 700 and the other day dispatched 800 from here, and 1,120 from the Caldera my new place. This we must continue until such times as we are prepared to erect a melting-down place of our own. This doesn't cost much but there are a deal of trouble in working it afterwards, in consequence of the uncertainty of working now remaining long in any one place. The advantage in this business is that we turn to profit all our old sheep that we can not dispose to advantage in any other way, and by doing so improve our flocks, and rid them of unprofitable stock for which the same expenses and care is required as if they were good. I am surprised to learn that you did not receive the papers I send you regular. I will try another plan now and let me know if they reach you safe. Ellen & me join in sending our love to you all, and also to Father Reville. Hoping this will find all friends in the enjoyment of good health, we remain your dear and affectionate brother & sister,
Ellen & John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 February 1868

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

Christmas is over and we have entered on another new year. I hope you may have passed the Holy Season in joy and happiness, and that you will enjoy many returns of same. In this country I cannot boast of much to be rejoiced about in a temporal point of view. There are many causes for why we should not enjoy as we have done other years. The principal causes are the depression state of the country in consequence of the long continued war and the visitation of cholera and yellow fever to these parts, when such have been unknown till within this last two years. The cases of the late decease are few and confined to the city, but the cholera has spread through all the towns in the camp and during this last week several cases of it has been in the estancias. The victims are principally men of careless habits and women

of nervous debility who take it through fear or fright. There are intense alarm through the country and business is at a complete stand still. The season is very unhealthy and the weather very changeable, which cause _____ complaint and stomach affection very prevalent, which is the forerunner of cholera and fever. Father Leahy gave stations of confession here yesterday. He is going round so as not to cause people to go to the villages to meet him, people having _____ use no fruit, no vegetables, drink little water, with God's help have no much cause to be alarmed. We have so far escaped thanks to God, although there have a number died all around us. February 22nd. Dear friends, the cholera has been very bad ever since the date at the head of the letter. According to accounts there are whole districts left wanted of inhabitants. I will send you some of the most interesting papers when I go to Bs. As., as I find they don't reach you by sending them direct from here. I no doubt feel a sincere pleasure in letting you know that there has not been up to now a single case of it on either of my places. Neither has there been only one brothers William's or Patt's thanks to the Almighty. This good news will I am sure afford great consolation to the absent friends of those who reside with us, and more particularly to you my dear friends, whose solicitude for our welfare is unbounded. My dear friends, It is also painful to inform you that our countrymen when the disease began to spread through villages and estancias, they commenced to drink gin and brandy as prevention, and in most places where the sickness should make its first appearance all in the house would begin to drink. And the clergyman when called on would often find not a sober individual in the house but the patient. This foolish idea (in my opinion) has been the cause of many having lost these _____ by it. My mode of proceeding during this fearful epidemic was to live as temperate as possible. I told all the men to be as moderate as possible in eating and drinking, make use of the food suitable to their constitution, keep the _____ regular and the stomach light, drink little water, and expel fear, and there is no danger of being attacked, as so we have succeeded thanks to God. My dear friends, you may perhaps imagine from me not referring to your present and future prospects in any of my last letters that I have given up taking any interest in them. You may think perhaps from the fact of me being married may cool the anxiety I felt in your welfare. But no. I am, and hope always to be, the same, and as I had written so much on the subject heretofore I thought it more prudent on my part to wait for a suggestion from you on the matter in case such things should come under your consideration at any time. I intend sending home some money when I go to Bs. As. about the end of March, if the sickness be all gone by that time, which I think it will please God as it is much diminished already from the cooling and the change that has come in the weather this last few days. This summer all through has been an unusually sickly one, very dry, with a great deal of high northly winds, which has in this country a powerful effect on the nerves and on the human system in general. Mr Brett & James Howlin is leaving me this March. The flocks has got too large to have them and any longer together. They are leaving with their part. I send by a young man from here who is going to Bs. As. several papers to post by next packet. I send them to Father Reville to have a read and he will send them to you afterwards. I cut the advertisement sheet off them so as to be able send the more of that part that will be more interesting to you. Hoping this will find all friends as we are _____ in good health is the prayers of your sincerely and ever affectionate brother,

John J. Murphy

Ellen sends her love to you all.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 8 April 1868

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

I enclosed to you by last English mail a bill for one hundred and six pounds, six pounds to be handed over to the very Rev. C. Reville and eight pounds to be given to Lar Whitty (Rosslare), Frank's brother, and the remainder for James and you. The amount I hope you have received in safely before this reaches you. My object for writing by this French mail is merely to let you know of the above in case anything should have _____ my previous letter. Brother William has sent home for two men. I believe he expects the two Gauls (Milltown). If you can send out a man or two along with them till well they be men accustomed to horses at home. If such be all right in other respects. Patt Rowe spoke of a son of John Penders (Hill) being anxious to come out, but I leave yourself to judge. Since the Zingara has been sold we know of no ship that bring out passengers. By the steamers we have either to send the money home to pay the passages or pay it here in advance. In the latter case should this passengers fail to come we forfeit 5 per cent of the passage. Brother William has paid the passages here as he is pretty sure of the boys coming. But should there only one come on William's account (this you would do well to know before securing the passages of those you intend sending to me), you may in the case let one of those you send to me come on the ticket of the one that fail coming to William. It may be that brother William may write to you to send out men in place of the Gauls providing they decline coming. But you see how the matter stands and I leave you to act as best you can under the circumstances. Dear brother, let me know how poor James is getting on with all the little ones. There is no night but I say a prayer for their spiritual and temporal welfare, and for the happy repose of their poor dear mother. I hope James has been able support himself under these trials, and trust to God for some particular blessing on his family in return for the irreparable loss he has sustained by the death of poor Bess. May God grant her his Mercy, and save and protect her little family from the hands of the enemy, both soul and body. Dear friends, The times has very much altered with us, sheep-farmers. I sold half a flock of sheep on the first of March at \$20 dollars, what a few years ago I would not sell at twice the amount. Twenty dollars are equal to 3s-4d. Mind a sheep for three shillings and four pence. But mind this is not the general price paid. All the sales that has been made this last year with few exceptions have been made at from 10 to 12 dollars per head. But these have been all forced sales to pay debts or breaking up the business, and these sales were so many that the number of sheep offered were more than supplied the demand of purchasers. In consequence of which the average price paid for sheep this year has been from \$10 to \$12. Of course the man that bought from me has entered in a medianero (on halves) for two years, and that account for the price he paid. I intend to finish my next page with a few lines to sister Margaret as it's long time since I wrote her or she me. My love to all and am as ever your
John J. Murphy

There were only two bills given for the cash I sent you last mail: one I sent you , the other I keep myself.

If the letter with the bill be not at hand in due time give notice or consult with the manager of National Bank of Wexford, as it was on that bank it was drawn in your favour.

N° bill 785, Written N° 1359, signed Wanklin.

Dear sister Margaret,

With feelings (as ever) of the most unlimited affection I take up the pen to write to you a few lines. I do (while at this pleasing duty) draw myself away from the busy pursuits of this world ~~to~~ that I may give bent to those feelings which console my heart when I think of you, dear sister, now the only one which God has been pleased to leave me. It is a pleasing duty indeed to converse with you (as it were) even in this manner and what make it more is that I know that every word you hear from me afford you consolation and pleasure. I trust you will

consider that such is the case with me in return for I should consider my life deprived of a great deal of its happiness were I not to hear from you and the rest of my dear friends at home. Home I still call and consider it as it was there all the pleasures of my youth were enjoyed. Six years and more of my manhood were spent amongst you, and I look upon them to be the six happiest years of my single blessings. From the ~~first~~ thirteen years of our first separation I had almost ceased to remember of home or its attachments. But the six years of return has enkindled a fire that shall never be extinguished. I would be uneasy on account of you not writing to me occasionally were it not that I know brother Martin's letters express your sentiments also, and that your both feelings are guided by the same feelings. But even so a word from yourself will always add to my happiness. Don't conceal from me anything you wish me to know. Pray for me and mind as I do for you and friends. This shall ever be considered the duty of your dear and affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

Dear brother James,
On beginning this letter I did not expect to assign any part of it to you, but there is some advantage in doing so as you can always save a shilling postage, and with that you can buy some cakes and sugarsticks for the little ones in my name.
Dear James, you have a hard card to play now, but I hope God will enable you to carry yourself manfully throughout the remainder of your life, as you have done to your credit heretofore. Dear James, It is well I should know each time I send home money have you and Martin divide it. I cannot see your demands as you do yourselves, consequently my directions are merely provisional until you see the arrangement made at home. My reason for knowing is that I may carry out your account and mine properly in the book of general accounts belonging to the establishment. As I am speaking on the subject you will no doubt wish to know have your account stands and what sum I have placed to your account. The £80 (eighty pounds) I sent home last July, the whole amount is placed to your debit account, and £60 (sixty pounds) of the £106 sent home by last mail is also placed to the debit side of your account, that is to say £140 in all per two last bills, as per account of you. You may perhaps think from the above figures that you owe a large sum in my account, but I have the pleasure of informing you (though bad the year was for the business) that you owe me only about £2, of course there were about one half of the amount placed against you, remained as a balance in your favour from last year. That speaks for the £140 this year when I say year it means from March till March each year as the term. Hoping this will give general satisfaction to all friends, I remain your ever sincere and affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

[Note]

Dear brother Martin,
From the amount of money I sent home, I acted under the impression that you don't require any at present as you only mentioned of James likely to need fifty or sixty pounds. I should not have given instructions as I did (in my previous letter) did I think you were in need of any help from me. The reason why I let these matters run till they are brought before me is that I trust to your confidence in me not to conceal from me your feelings on those matters. I assure you it would cause me pain did I know you were hard up to have concealed it from me either through delicacy or other reasons. Dear brother, as to the men you send me look to the cheapest mode of doing so by steamer. The agents here has their rules but with the company their terms may be conditional by paying the cash there. Let the men know particularly that

they have to serve twelve months for their passage counting from the day they arrive to the estancia. The same as the other men that came before them. Adieu,
J.J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 April 1868

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

The last letters I wrote were somewhat on a new scale (three letters embodied in one). There were a degree of variety in the system, and you know variety is generally more or less interesting, and I hope each one of you read your respective post with pleasure. It matters but little what our style of writing is, if we can but convey happiness to those with whom we correspond. Sincerity and affection often exist in the heart of an author that can but feebly set forth language sufficiently strong to convey his feelings to those he loves and respects. Consequently, the size, form, and system on which our letters are written have nothing to do with the sentiments and feelings under which we write. I hope that they have, as also this one may, find you all in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing all friends here enjoy thanks to God. Dear brother, the parcels that Patt Roche brought out to me I have not yet received them, as they went out in his chest to Rojas. I must trouble you now to send me out by some passengers two flannel drawers, strong, large and the same as those we wear at home. Since the rain first came in the last of February, we have had a very beautiful season. The grass now is in abundance, the sheep improving very fast. We are getting through with the señaling (marking). We have done four flocks and so far the marking amount to about 23 per cent, which is very good at this early season. April 23rd. I have received the stockings and ____ all right. Dear brother, your letter of 7th March is at hand. I am happy to hear of you all being in good health. You say you had no letter since the middle of January but you should have got one in February also. But it was as well you did not, as the sickness was then raging and you would have felt more concerned about us. But thank God he was pleased to carry us through the sickness without having a single case on the Estancia. I do not send any papers now unless when I am in Buenos Aires, or that some person is going from here that could post them in Buenos Aires, as sending them from here is only a disappointment and loss of the postage, also as they never reach you. You requested of me to send you the names of Patt's children. The eldest is Katy, the second is Anny, the third is Nicholas, the fourth is John Joseph William, the fifth is Bridget, all told, they are all well. Dear friends, We are on the eve of a great political change here, the election of President is soon to come off. Congress is bringing a charge against President Mitre. It appears the federal provinces seem to think him not justified in entering into the Triple Alliance with Brazil and the Banda Oriental against Paraguay, and the charge seems (to every one that choose to take an impartial view of the matter), to be perfectly well founded, and it's thought that this will discover his prestige and lay it visible to the public. The War still continues. It is true we are every day drawing nearer to its completion, but that is all we can say. Dear brother, The sheep business, like the war appears to be at a stand still, the season is past for sales. Consequently, the general topic of conversation that was, has ceased until next wool season again. There are still a few forced judicial sales, but people are not looking to them, as a criterion to the value of sheep as heretofore. There have been a few speculators or I might better call them numbskulls, who has endeavoured to draw the public feeling to the belief that sheep is not worth more than ten dollars per head, and land are hundred thousand dollars per league (mind you a square league of land for 800 £) and more than that some has gone so far as to say that certain class of sheep is worth not even one dollar per head. If a person has to pay rent for land but these one what

we used to call at home (ne're be good), that would not make sheep pay even if they were worth 1 £ per head. Now let you imagine from the above that the business is gone to the dogs. I will tell what can be done by management and attention to the business. I made a calculation of last years business in this neighbourhood according to my own, allowing 12 per cent per annum to be fair interest in capital laid out. I make land in this neighbourhood worth five hundred thousand dollars or 4,000 £ per league, and sheep 20 dollars per head, or 3s 5d. Now, if I was to value my land at 100,000 dollars per league, my interest would be about 54 per cent. So you see we can let them shout and wink at the sheep business till they get hoarse in their necks, and that is all they will have for their pains. Dear friends, I have kept you too long at this stuff. Mine and Ellen's love to all and I remain your dear brother

John J. Murphy

P.S. Pierce, the carpenter is leaving me after finishing the house which is nearly now completed. I shan't have much work for a carpenter hereafter. A sort of a half-carpenter or a handy man at carpenter's work would be very useful to me, as we can scarcely do without such a one for many little jobs you might look out for a man of that class to work 12 months for his passage as anything I put him to that is the general work about the place.

J. J. M.

P.S. Let me know in your next if you hear of anyone of the Nick Kavanagh's neighbours being dead. I fell into conversation with a gentleman at the Races, who was telling me that a Wexford man of that name died on his Estancia in Montevideo, having about thirty thousand dollars. From his description of him, I am almost sure it's Nick of Haysland.

S. Wright Kelso to Martin Murphy, 15 June 1868

S. Wright Kelso & Co.
Merchants
Ship Brokers and Agents
3, Tower Buildings West
Liverpool

Mr Martin Murphy
Haysland

Dear Sir,

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of yesterday also £16 in Irish notes, being half third class passage money for Patrick Ennis & John Cleary per "Newton" (steamer), for which we now beg to hand you ticket N° 184, balance of which must be paid here on or before the 19th inst., in which case we will remit you the 5% commission. The passengers will require to be here not later than 9 a.m. on the morning of the 19th. Yours truly, S. Wright Kelso & Co. P.S. Please instruct the passengers to bring English money for payment of balance.

S. Wright Kelso to Martin Murphy, 20 June 1868

S. Wright Kelso & Co.
Merchants
Ship Brokers and Agents
3, Tower Buildings West

Liverpool

Mr Martin Murphy
Haysland, Tagoat
Co. Wexford
Ireland

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find Irish note for £1 & stamps value 12s., in all £1-12s., being 5% commission on Patrick Ennis & John Cleary, passage money "Newton". Please acknowledge receipt & return of post. Obligated,

Yours truly,

S. Wright Kelso & Co.

Francis Doyle to Martin Murphy, 8 July 1868

San Pedro

To Mr Martin Murphy

Dear Sir,

I write you these few lines hoping you will receive them in good health as they leave me at present thank God. It is a long time since I have wrote to you, but then I know you will excuse my neglect for not being able to do so myself. When living with your brother John I got all particulars from home so regular that it was useless for me to write. But now as I am living some 20 leagues from him I deem it my duty to write as I cannot get accounts so regular.

About a fortnight since I was in Uncalito where all friends are well and your brother John told me that he had a note for me from you enclosed in a letter from home. The note was mislaid so that I did not get it. But your brother told me what was most particular in it; was for me to continue sending the money to my mother as usual. I am very thankful to you for your kind consideration and I also thank you for your trouble in forwarding it to her.

I was under the impression when I left Uncalito that the money would be continued as usual as I left money there for that purpose. I was but a very short while left, when your brother sent me word that it was stopped. He said he would, if you be so kind as to favour me with an answer, please to let me know at what time you commenced to let her have the money the last time. This is a very moveable country. People are continually changing. I am now living about 20 leagues from the partido of Salto, where I got a very good chance though the kindness and influence of your brother Patrick with one Austin, a Wexford man that is manager of an estancia that belongs to a native wool broker in Bs. Ayres. Crops are in splendid condition and sheep doing very well. It was a very hard summer in this country through a visitation of cholera. There were a number of people died, but thank God very few Wexfordians. But I am sure it is useless for me to describe it as you have had an account of it ere this.

I would wish that you be so kind as to favour me by giving £1 to Mrs McCabe for her kindness to my mother. I would also wish that you let no one know, not even my mother, as I know so much her disposition so well that it might breed a variance between them. I promised and I leaving home at same time to send her a present, and suppose the poor woman must be back in need of it now, as I heard her husband is dead. I was very sorry to hear of your sister Mrs Furlong's death. Please give my best respects to Mr Furlong and family, and also to your sister Margaret, and accept the same yourself from me.

I remain yours respectfully,

Francis Doyle

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 28 October 1868

Flor del Uncalito

Dear brother Martin,

My principal object for writing you these hurried lines is first to inform that we are all in the enjoyment of good health, and next to let you know that Nicholas Murphy's brother of Muckranstown will hand over to you sixty pounds (£60 sterling) on his brother Nicholas' account, who has purchased sheep and entered in with me as medianero, or in other words on halves. The balance he is to send out to him here. I arranged the business so as to leave you some at home. Let James have forty (£40) as he may be most in need of it, and you keep the £20. I did not intend sending any till after selling the wool. But for the circumstance being so favourable to have it arranged so without expenses. I got no letters by last mail. I finished shearing on yesterday. The wool has turned out pretty clean, but prices are very low, and a poor demand. I expect carts to load the wool this week if they keep their word. I shall soon be in Bs. As. from whence I shall write you again. Brother William is shearing. He has carts at his house loading as he shears. They are also shearing at Rojas. They have carts engaged also, so we expect to have all our wool in pretty early the year. As yet we have no account of the Gauls. I note your remark as having got the money. The weather has been very broken up to now, but favourable for the camp. Ellen joins me in sending kind love to all, and I remain your dear brother,

John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 January 1869

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

I have tried every plan and used all my endeavours to find out same way by which I could send you letters and papers more regularly and more to our advantage than thereafter, but I have failed in doing so and I must content myself with the old rule, as I see by your last letter that letters by steamer are the same as those posted by the mail. As for newspapers your must content yourself without them, unless when it happens that I am in the city to post them. The news in the country at present is very unimportant. The war in Paraguay is in *stato quo*. Every two or three months they have a little brush which results in some trifling advantage to one or the other side, or may so happen. And then another two or three months pass on as if there were truce existing between the belligerents, and so the business goes on from year end to year end to great disadvantage of the country. The season is going on very favourable up to now. The pasture is plenty but getting dry. We are not drawing water as yet though there are but little now in the camp. We are preparing to draw against the time comes. The langostas are very plenty this year, but on account of such plentiness of grass on the camp they may not be able consume it all before the season comes for them to disappear. About the month of February they deposit their eggs in the surface of the land and then they die. The eggs remain there till the next summer time, which bringing them to maturity for the next season. They are sometimes much plentier on some places than others. Now at William's and all about that neighbourhood they have eaten up everything in the shape of vegetables, plants, &c. But here they have not broken in on us as yet, but are likely to do before long. They are most destructive insect. Today you will be rejoiced to look at your cabbage, onions, potatoes,

melon, corn, turnips, lettuces, flowers, fruit and all in full blooming and in a week time you have nothing to look at, not even the root which they ~~follow~~ and eat as far as they can follow it into the earth.

But their ravages will not be felt much about here, as there are plenty of pasture. We had a tremendous heavy rain since I commenced this letter. It has left the camps all on flood and of course will cause abundance of grass for the summer. John Boggan (Milltown) is with me now. Hands are rather scarce about here now. I wish I had another or two from home. Cullen and the wife is about leaving me. I feel sorry to part with Kate. She is extremely good, but Tom could be easily replaced. Look out for another couple and let me know if such can be got. There are a great many trials to making here now to see and turn the meat of animals in to more value. There are several meat-curing establishments, but they have all more or less failed in the experiments. There are now before government for their approval a project from a private company to transport live stock from here to England. God knows how this may turn out. The slaughter houses now through the camp are the chief means of consuming our extra stock. Brother Patt and Andy Pierce was in from Rojas on New Year's day. The people out there are all well and the camps are splendid. Andy Pierce remains lame. His leg is much shorter than the other but very little trouble to him. He is gone to see ____ about it but I fear it's too late now.

20th January 1869. Dear Friends, I wish you all a merry Christmas and happy New Year, and many returns of same. I intended posting this letter by last English mail but the day of the posting it turned out unfavourable. Since the first date I have the pleasing news to inform you of the conclusion of the War with Paraguay. Lopez, the governor of Paraguay, has chased out from the remnant of his army that has escaped with him, say about one hundred. All the others has surrendered as prisoners of war. They are in pursuit of Lopez. It's probable they may take him. The time intervening between the two dates of this letter has been the heaviest weather I've ever seen at this season of the year. I have scarcely seen so much water fall in the same time at any season. Every second or third day heavy rains plenty of water and grass growing as if in the middle of spring. I sent a troop of fat sheep to market the week before last. They were sold at 25 dollars, about the highest price paid now, they being clear of expenses a little over 22 dollars, about half what we used to sell at some four years ago. I am in receipt of your letter of December 7th and the papers that accompany it. They are all very interesting as the papers contain all the news of Elections which I am glad to see that Wexford has played her part manfully this time. When in Bs. As. last December I posted a letter for you which contained a likeness of myself & Mrs., which dear sister Margaret now ask for. I am always rejoiced when she asks anything of me. I wish she would do so oftener. Let me know truthfully if she be contented and happy. Tell her if God is so good as to spare me I intend to see her and you all in a few years more. Five years more will complete the term of purchase of my new place, and by that time I hope to have to spare (after paying the purchase money), wherewith to take a tour home to see my old friends. Pray to God to spare us life and health to realize this ____ hope, which I so anxiously cherish. I send another likeness in this to dear sister, fearing the other may not go safe. In the taking I wore a blue necktie which came out white. It looks bad. I had a letter this mail also from Father Reville. He writes every month either to here or to Williams. He always speaks of my friends of Haysland and lets us know how you are. It is useless to say anything about Nicholas Murphy's money in the letter, as the business ~~is before~~ will be arranged before you get this. I wish you may have kept the £60, though you may not require it, as I wish you to send me out a couple more men, as hands are getting scarce. In consequence of so much new branches of work striking up in this country. It is strange that N. Murphy's brother did not know (his Nicholas) hand writing, as the letter was entirely written by him. Wishing you all again a merry Christmas and Happy New Year I remain as ever your dear and affectionate brother,

John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 March 1869

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

I received neither letters nor papers by the February's mail, but I hope no particular reason has prevented you writing on that occasion. I wrote to Father Reville by last mail. I had at that time just become a father of a young daughter, which God was pleased to send us on the 16th ultimo. Both it and mother are progressing favourably. On the 14th inst. we intend to get it christened and to call it Catherine Margaret, Catherine from poor dear Mother and Margaret from Ellen's mother, and sister Margaret. We may yet add another name to the above, as it's generally given also the saint's name on which it was born. Dear friends, this must be a short letter as this is the season for regulating the flock for the year, and we are generally very busy. Dear friends, Though this has been rather a favourable summer in most places, yet the camps has been very bare in parts and several had to move their flocks, Brother William amongst the rest. He moved three flocks. There are two of them here and the other is out at my other place, the Caldera. His camp got cut up by an invasion of cattle from the other province last winter, which came down here from the bad state of the camps up there. But he will soon be able take his sheep home to his own camp again, as it is fast improving. You may tell Peter Cleary's people that he is going on very well, and is a very good boy and I am sure will do well. Ennis has been up to now rather humorous. He has not got the good sense of Cleary, but with all he is not bad. I have made a new arrangement with Cullen and wife. John Boggan was talking me about one of the girls of the Atkinsons that got married to one Fitzpatrick. He gives her great praise and says they have no children. Enquire about them or any other you think would suit, one or two children would be an advantage, providing they be about 10 years old or upwards. Otherwise, they would not. But one or two children is no object, that is providing the parents are not likely to have any more. Look out and let me know if any such can be met with, as William wants one at present, and I cannot tell how soon Cullen may take the fit again. Andy Pierce called here the other day on his way from Rojas to his new employer, an American close to here. He is _____. Patt Carr has left outside also. He is going to stop with me in charge of a flock. John Boggan is with me at the estancia. He is a valuable man about a place, and he seems very contented and happy. He ~~is~~ intends giving a good trial to the country before he takes the notion of going elsewhere. Nicholas Murphy has been expecting his money out by early mail. Of course you have acted in this matter according to my previous instructions, that is to receive sixty pounds from his brother on my account. Mind let me know the date on which you receive the cash from him. I disremember at present whether it was sixty or seventy pounds I wrote to you to receive, but it is all the same which amount it was. You can send letters or papers now every week if you like, as there are mail packets coming every week. The Liverpool steamers now carry the mails. Sheep has been selling this year at an advance of five dollars per head over last. There are many buyers at that but few care to sell. The slaughter houses or saladeros are beginning to tell now they are got so plenty now that they kill about the increase of sheep this last year, and through this mean sheep will be brought to their real value. Dear friends, Hoping you will enjoy all the blessing and graces of this holy season of Lent. We join in sending you all the kind love of your dear brother and sister, John J. & E.J. Murphy

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 30 March 1869

San Martin, Salto

My Dear Brother, Sister, etc. Through kindness of Mr. Patrick Boggan, cousin to Eliza, I drop you these few lines merely to let you know that we are yet on the hands of the _____ and well, and hoping this will meet you all in the enjoyment of same blessing. This year for first time I have had to move three of my flocks for want of pasture. I have lost rather heavily. I am now engaged getting them back. Should the bearer of this fall in with you or go see you, which he may do, you will have the pleasure of speaking to on who has spent some years with us, and who can give you all particulars of San Martin &c. Hoping you will excuse this short note I remain your dear brother,
W. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 5 April 1869

Flor del Uncalito

My dear friends,

All through this last month has been the heaviest rains that I have ever seen at this season of the year. The camps has so much improved since, that a person would imagine that there were some artificial means applied to force the pasture to its present state. What a difference between the growth of grass here and that of home. Today your camp is as bare as the roads at home, and in two weeks time you have grass three inches high, so rich and rank that we do not let the flocks off to feed till between nine and ten o'clock every day. The cardos (thistles) still exceed the other grasses for they run up so rank and quick that numbers of sheep are lost on them from swelling as cows do at home on clover. William generally loose some every year, but others loose immensely from two hundred to a thousand out of flocks. I loose none as my camp produce a more mixed quality of pasture and less thistles. All kind of animals are very fond of the thistle, and they all improve and fatten on them when green an on the other seeds and leaf when dry. I keep a very heavy stock on Uncalito this year: 17,000 ~~sheep~~ head, about 16,500 in seven flocks varying from 2,200 to 2,600 each, about 200 rams, and about 300 fine ram-breeding flock, for which I keep from 2 to 4 special rams, generally European descent. These rams cost from £9 to £20 each, and yield from 12 to 20 lbs. wool (unwashed wool) each year if kept in good condition. You say James intended sending Mary and Maggie to school. It is wise thought and he should if possible spare them one year or six months at least. They are just the age to profit and improve by the indulgence. Let me know how Sinnott (Crosstown) is going on, what you are doing with the two fields. How Frank is going on with the shop. If Cormick is still living. What of the little mare Brin O'Lynne. John Boggan tell me that the man that bought the bog mare at the auction of Crosstown was offered £76 for the colt three years old, which she was carrying at the time of the auction. I believe there are very high prices paid for young cattle at present, that mare was cheap at £20 for breeding purposes alone. When breeding from a horse like Brin O'Lynne. Bs. As., 12th April. Patt Boggan (New Bay) left here for home on the 9th. I thought to meet him in Bs. As. before he left but he had started the day before my arrival. Fearing I would not see him in town before he left I wrote in to Kate Cormack to buy some ostrich feathers to send by him to Margaret. I hope she may like them. Had I met him in Bs. As. before he left I would have sent something else by him, as Ellen requested me to do so in her name. I might have start sooner were it not that I had to dispatch some lambs wool before I left. Patt Boggan is a *neviu* to Father Reville and first cousin to my and William's wife. He was in St Peter's College for many years intended for the church. He was one of the five or six that was dismissed from it some five or six years ago. He is very stupid and badly adapted to travel. I did not tell him where to have the plumero, so

you had as well invite himself and sister of Fr Reville down some evening. James Murphy will be glad to see him there. Did another man go home with him by the name of Tobin from about Tenacre of Bridgetown. I was intent to send this by Boggan along with some papers. The French packet left here yesterday but there is a supplementary mail to start [torn] here tomorrow to catch her at Montevideo [torn] sending it by that mail, providing no disappointment occur. I am sending a bill of [torn] Tom Neil from his son Laurence. I hope it [torn] safe. I got Nicholas Murphy's bill cashed [torn] there were almost one pound (£1) discount charged, which is very little here in such bills. Be looking out for a man or two to send out to me by next August. In my next letter I will send you the conditions on which you will arrange with them. The young daughter is going on well. They say it's just like me. That reminds me of what the woman said to the monkey. You know women must have it like the father anyhow. Mrs. Cullen is still holding on to the cooking. We keep Ellen's sister here, more to take some of the work off her hands. She was not able for the whole. She is as good and as willing as ever. I shall not like to post her and she would never think of leaving, were it not for James humours. He is going on much better now. Peter, Kate and Annie Cormack are sending £20 home to their father. Mary Furlong is sending home some also to bring out her sister. I could not send this by French mail as I intended. With kind love and remembrance to all friends I remain your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 22 May 1869

Flor del Uncalito, Dear brother Martin,
About fifteen days ago the *People* paper came out to Mr Richards, which contained the enclosed letter. And in a few days later we received a letter from our friend Fr Reville saying that he had been told that Andy Pierce had wrote a letter in the *People* paper running down this country. The above particularly private. On the above information I spoke to him (Andy) about it. I asked him if he was the author. He neither denied nor acknowledged it but merely put me of by asking me what authority I had for asking him, which from the way he acted and the information of the above have no doubt but he is fabricator, though he is denying it now to others. But I think its show is inducing him to do so. If it be Andy that wrote that letter, which I have not a shadow of [torn] but it is, and that I will know no matter what it cost me. He is one of the meanest wretches under Heavens seen, for in four days after the date of his letter he came to my house invited, and there with other friends and countrymen spent a couple days in amusements. He has been here several times since up to the time of me charging him with this foul act, and has on all occasions been treated with kindness both by myself and family. Little thinking we had ____ us a wolf in lamb clothing. I would send a few lines directly to the attorney if I knew which of them you most approve of. But I trust you will for my sake as well as for your own and the rest of my friends carry out my instructions to the letter, and unless the parties interested give me the satisfaction I demand in my other note enclosed, I shall proceed against them as for as the Law will permit. Even if Andy felt disposed to apologise to me here it would not clear me in the eyes of the people of Wexford. It must be done ____ in the form before attended to it in the *People* paper, where his bible appeared. The young men about here, who felt for the injury done, has been kind enough to send a note home to the *People* paper in contradiction. It will likely appear before you receive this. I intend to send another in a few days on sheep-farming in contradiction to this letter of the Child of Respectable Parents. Tell the editor of the *People* paper that I am in no way angry with them, as I am well aware they never published a like article on their own responsibility or on the responsibility of a man living in this country, unless sanctioned by some parties at

home. I had previous to this a trial of Andy's rascality. He got up amongst the men of the Caldera an insulting letter he wrote it himself, but he say now since he left there that he did not write [torn], that the others forced him to sign it against his will. Mind you Andy forced to it against his will. But I forgave him that offence and received him again as a friend. Little thinking he would turn again on me. My dear brother, You may feel a delicacy in proceeding against people who perhaps you are acquainted with. But have no consideration for them as they had none for me or mine. Andy has demanded an apology from me, which I consider him entitled to providing he be not the guilty party, and for this reason I should like to know. Dear brother, we are all in good health and here. The young daughter is healthy, and well and very quiet. I sent you the other not apart from this so as you could [send] it to Fr Reville or any other you thought proper to let them see the instructions I give you. From the time you commence proceedings write me often as I will always be anxious to know how the business is progressing. There is a mail packet nearly every week from Liverpool, so I with the rest of the family bid you adieu with kind love to all. I remain your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

Dear brother,

Of the letter sent from here by the young men (contradicting the statements made in the Respectable Child's letter) make enquiries at the office ~~about~~ and know if they did not receive it. If you can get the parties that got the letter published to give you the name of the author in writing it will satisfy me. I rather think ~~that~~ if Andy be the author of the letter that his friends had nothing to do with the publishing of it. It must be same of his old associates in Wexford that got it published for him. However do all in your power to find out the author. I send you the letter also for the *People* paper. Take it to Fr Reville to have it published in the *People* paper and to correct any blunders that may be in it. Your dear brother,
J.J. Murphy

Flor del Uncalito, May 22nd, 1869

Dear brother Martin,

On receipt of this see Mr Meadows, from whom your are sure to get an honest opinion. Show him the enclosed letter taken from the *People* paper of March 13th, 1869, and signed a Child of Respectable Parents. Ask him do not the statements made use of in it justify a prosecution. If he tells you that the language made use of can be prosecuted as a libel give instructions to an attorney to commence proceedings. If the power of attorney is necessary ~~from me~~ let me know and I will send it at once by letting me know in whose name it ~~will~~ should be, whether in yours or the attorney. Let the attorney name the damages he thinks the libel is entitled to. It is not for damages I proceed but to know the person that has most falsely belied me and wounded the feelings of my friends at home, which I think worse of than I do of myself. I am sure the people of Wexford has not bestowed much credit on the letter but that says nothing as my character has been most maliciously slandered and without cause. And the only way to prevent a repetition is by making them feel the ____ of their own envious and malicious designs. I am sure there is some simple person at home that has been made a tool of by this Child of Respectable Parents, as I could not for a moment think that the Editor of the *People* ever published such a letter on his own responsibility, or on that of any person residing in this country without the ____ of some person at home. But to show that I do not seek for more than to have my character cleared up I will stay proceeding so soon as the person or persons that feel themselves responsible for the publication of the above named letter come forward and make a declaration in the public papers. Contradicting the statements made use of in that letter paying the expense of the proceeding up to the time of him doing so, and letting me know the real author's name. And if the parties do not wish to enter into these conditions let

the case proceed to its conclusion. I hope you will not think the worse of doing this much for me to enable me to clear up my character. Were it not that I have been delayed in completing the purchase of my new place in consequence of a Director not being appointed to the public land office, I should most likely proceed home myself to look after the proceedings. But I trust the case will be followed up with energy by yourself and by those ~~in~~ whose ~~hands~~ you empower to do so. And I remain your dear brother,

John Murphy

P.S. The following is another method I would propose to obtain the satisfaction. I consider myself entitled to see the Editor of the *People*. Tell him before proceedings commence to speak on write to the parties who are responsible for the publication of the letter and tell them that prosecution will be staged on conditions that they give orders to the Editor to make the following declaration in his paper, which is this: The letter which appeared in our issue of date 13th March 1869 and signed a Child of Respectable Parents, we are authorised by the parties responsible for the publication of said letter to apologise to Mr Murphy and to retract the statements made herein and to also give the name of the author of said letter.

J.J.M.

[newspaper clip]

The *Wexford People*, 13 March 1869

Sheep Farming in South America

To the Editor of the *People*.

Buenos Ayres, Dec. 20, 1868.

Dear Sir. I trust you will, with your usual kindness, allow me space in reply to a letter which appeared in the *People* of October 3rd, 1868, signed J. Murphy, commenting on a letter which appeared in the *Buenos Ayres Standard*, signed "Bucolic." Of Bucolic's letter I only speak from memory. But I think it was a very fair statement, at all events. I believe it was honestly written, and not for a purpose, as Mr. M. insinuates. Why not Mr. M. give figures to prove Bucolic's calculation wrong. It is disagreeable imputing motives to any person; but as Mr. Murphy has not spared others I suppose he cannot object if I should attributes motives to him. I do not wish to charge him individually, but as one of a class (I mean the owners of sheep establishments). They are most anxious just now to make *Europeans* believe that sheep farming in this part of the world is paying a good percentage. And I have no doubt that it pays 3 or 4 per cent on large establishments, say if you invest £10,000 or £12,000, and those should be (what Mr. M. would call) well managed. But without an increased emigration of men with capital, say from £200 to £500 each, and those parties anxious to invest in sheep farming, it will not under present circumstances pay even that small percentage. It must therefore be quite obvious to any person that a small capital will not pay. As to the management of sheep establishments the greater part consists in making contracts apparently fair on the face of them, but with sundry sentences that can be interpreted, in whichever way is most advantageous to the owners. Now, Mr. Editor, it is scarcely fair to expect the son of respectable parents to make a rogue of himself in order that his employer may realize 12 or 15 per cent, and, without so doing, he will be put down as an idle, careless, worthless fellow; and because when sheep establishments are managed by men more interested and with a convenient conscience, (i.e.) the owners, they can make any percentage they wish. I also beg to say that it is a foul libel on the character of the young men in this country to say that they are badly conducted. In my opinion they will bear comparison with the young men of any other country. But it is a very effective way to silence your adversary if you cannot answer him otherwise blacken his character, &c. It would be impossible for me to give your readers an idea of this country at present in the space allowed for an ordinary letter. It is sufficient to say that not one in twenty of those parties having from 1,000 to 3,000 sheep but are in debt to

half their value. And nothing is more common than to hear of sales of sheep weekly by the magistrate of the different districts. I therefore, Mr. Editor, would strongly recommend any person having a small capital, and intending to emigrate, to try some other country, as unless he invests in sheep here every other business is closed against him if he is not conversant with the language. I have no personal motive in writing this; but as the characters of myself and others have been slandered, I have thought it my duty to say this much in my own defence. I trust you will kindly publish those few remarks; and though I do not give my name for publication, and therefore give Mr. M. an opportunity of being witty at my expense, I beg to subscribe myself yours very respectfully,
A Child of Respectable Parents

Sheep Farming in Buenos Ayres

To the Editor of the *People*

Flor del Uncalito, Salto, Bs. Ayres, May 26th 1869

Dear Sir,

About a year ago I replied to a letter which appeared in your columns copied from the Buenos Ayrean *Standard* and signed Bucolic. Influenced by the interest I feel in your country and fearful less the gross mistatements of the author should cast a blur on this republic deter many young men from entering the list of this country, where so many with nothing but a resolute heart and firm will have acquired wealth and respect. Mr. Editor, the reason I have again to refer to Bucolic's letter is in consequence of a letter which appeared in your issue of the 13th March 1869 and signed a Child of Respectable Parents, who has endeavoured by his false statements to lessen the character of this country in the eyes of the public. Those letters adverse though I am to all newspaper controversy I feel myself again called upon to contradict not for any interest of my own but as one long resident in the country. I think it my duty to uphold its reputation against the calumnies of those, some of whom from motives of their own case, not to lower it in every possible manner. Therefore, I should feel myself blameable in the extremi were I to allow the people of Wexford (who are still dear to me) to harbour under such erroneous ideas as these letters might possible lead them to. Anonymous writings have ever been the bone of society, emanating from men who either lack courage to boldly affix their name to truth, or worse, still from those who assert facts they know to be as false as they are malicious. Now Mr. Editor, as this Child of Respectable Parents has demanded of me figures to prove that Bucolic's calculation is wrong, I will give you a true estimate of the sheep business this last year, though being the worst we have had for this last fifteen, and which is beyond the power of any to contradict. Not I must say to afford that Child any information for were I not influenced by the desire to give the people of the County Wexford who have friends here a true idea of the country I would treat his letter of those of that class to which he allies himself with that silent contempt which he and his partisans so greatly merit. There are three circumstances which do not come within the range of the following calculation, neither of which is sufficient of themselves to leave the business unprofitable, namely bad land, overstocking and negligence on the part of the proprietor or manager. In order the figures I am about to give may be the better understood and that the people at home may be the better able to make their own calculations, I think it right to say that the current price of money here is 122 ½ paper dollars to the £ sterling, or a small fraction over 2 d. per dollar. One league of land is 40 squares square. One square is 150 Spanish yards square. And one yard being 34 inches English. Consequently, one square league of land contains thirty-six million of square yards of 34 inches. It can be understood that the lambs fit to shear at the proper season make up in wool for the number of sheep sold for market. I have also set down the increase at a very low figure, as I never had on my own establishment the worst years less than 23 per cent. The increase I allow here is a little over 17 per cent.

The result of sheep farming for one year on an establishment consisting of one square league of land with full stock

To 21,000 sheep at \$14.-		\$294,000
" 11 stations, estancia house, galpon, corrals, etc.		110,000
" 150 ewes for ram breeding at 50.-		7,500
" 3 rams for the above at 3,000.-		9,000
" 210 rams for the flocks at 250.-		62,000
" 10 horses at 300.-		3,000
" cart and implements necessary		9,000
Total amount of capital invested		485,000
" Interest on 485,000 dollars at 12 per cent per annum		58,200
" 11 men in stations in charge of flocks at per month each 450.-		59,000
" two workmen, one shepherd and one cook at per month each 300.-		14,400
" one capataz or foreman at 700.-		8,400
" support of the above five persons at 110.-		6,600
" cartage of 3,000 arrobas of wool a distance of 40 leagues at 7.-		21,000
" shearing of 21,000 sheep at 7/8.-		18,375
" broker's commission on wool at 2 per cent		3,000
" rent of one league of land at		40,000

		\$240,000
By 3,000 arrobas wool of 25 lbs. at \$50.-	\$150,000	
" 3,600 increase:		
2,000 sold fat at 25.-	50,000	
1,600 retained at 14.-	22,400	
" 100 increase fine flock:		
50 rams at 250.-	12,500	
50 ewes at 50.-	2,500	
" skins, grease, etc.	2,600	\$240,000

Now Mr. Editor, with these remarks and figures, which are I think within the comprehension of all and which are quite sufficient of themselves to refute all arguments, I will bid adieu to all anonymous writers on sheep-farming and trust that for the future they will cease to circulate statements which bear in themselves the guise of falsehood and retort upon the circulator. With respect to the letter written by this Child of Respectable Parents, I will be as brief as possible. I dislike anonymous persons though I confess I should myself feel a delicacy in affixing my name to an article for the public press. Yet I prefer having known my wont of capacity for such a task, and undergo the penalty of public criticism rather than make myself one of those who (like this Child of Respectable Parents) fatten on the idea of wounding the reputation of his opponent by discharging his missiles under cover of a fictitious name. But I feel I would not be doing myself or others justice were I to pass over in silence all his erroneous statements, statements which are as false as they are unfounded. This gentleman asserts that on large and well-managed establishments 3 or 4 per cent might possibly be made. I will here mention one of the many circumstances that has this year occurred which will I am sure illustrate the matter and will also be some information to capitalists who intend emigrating to this country. Mr. Hale, one of the wealthiest and most influential foreign merchants in Buenos Ayres, and an old resident in this country, purchased an estate about two years ago, a few miles distant from my place, and is now one of the finest properties of the country. Mr. Hale no doubt has a perfect knowledge of how the sheep business is paying. Yet a few months ago he, Mr. Hale, rented at the rate of \$40,000 dollars per square league the estate of the late Mr. Riddle, and not only did he rent the land but also bought at the current price the sheep, which amounted to as much as the land could bear. Now, if on rented land sheep-farming did only pay 3 or 4 per cent, why should Mr. Hale, a merchant and experienced

sheep-farmer, invest capital in the business where in the market of Buenos Ayres he would realise 12 per cent for his money? But this Child of Respectable Parents sets down the opinion of such men as Mr. Hale at nought and boldly asserts in the public press that unless convenient consciences and contracts be called into requisition the owners of sheep establishments would find it impossible to make the business pay even that small percentage. The present value of this land, which Mr. Hale has rented, is from \$330,000 to \$340,000 dollars per square league, which shows that the proprietors receive on his capital invested on interest of about 12 per cent per annum. Mr. Editor, it does not follow that sheep-farming don't pay because Bucolic or others having invested in bad land, or if invested in good land by putting on stock to double the amount it will bear which in both cases he can have neither increase weight of wool nor fat sheep fit for market, or because others, of this class alluded to in my previous letter, who spend their time one half in bed the other in the village where his hotel and other accommodations are swelled by his extravagance a figure for exceeding his means, thence follows the consequence, which he at once attributes to the state of the country. This Child of &c. would make me say that I implied habits and vices to all the young men in this country, but before proceeding further I will just ask him, have we not in this country or in all others men whose misfortune it is to be of the class referred to in my previous letter? But I will for the satisfaction and information of respectable families in Wexford say that my previous letter had no way neither directly nor indirectly referred to their friends in this country, neither was there any Wexfordman that I know of at that time in the position or of that class referred to in my previous letter, nor could I be made believe that any Wexfordman in this country was false enough to write such absurd letters or those which I felt it my duty to at first reply to. I may also state in contradiction to this Respectable Child's letter that a contract never existed between me and any of the men that is, as ever has been on my place all having sufficient confidence in my ward. Also that there are not one of those at present with me, or that has been, ever had to sell sheep or that is this day one single farthing in debt. Before closing this letter, which has already exceeded the limit I intended for it, there is but one more remark I would wish to make with regard to this Respectable Child's letter, which is an important one as it might serve as a guide to those who have an idea of emigrating. I mean those small capitalists from £200 to £500 whom the Child advises to try some other country. Now Mr. Editor, it is an established fact that there is a wide field for capitalists small as well as large in a new country such as this is, but allow me to impress on their mind the fact that the small capitalists must exercise great prudence and forethought, and it behave him to put both mind and shoulder to the wheel. In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I must beg you will excuse the liberty I have taken with your time and space the great interest I take and the interest which I know you as well as the people of Wexford since all South American matters will I hope will sufficient to plead my excuse, yet I will say one word more before I bid a final adieu to all anonymous writers. Let me beg of such young men as are about emigrating here not to follow or seek for advice from such men as this Child of Respectable Parents, many of whom he may meet in the city, but to follow the advice of those experienced men who will not lead them astray or draw them into any speculation that in after years they may regret. I trust Mr. Editor that you will, with your usual impartial kindness, allow me space for the publication of the above in your deservedly popular paper, and believe to be yours very sincerely, John Murphy P.S. It is evident that Child of Respectable Parents, when writing his libellous fabrication, has been actuated by envious and malicious feelings, as there is not a shadow of truth in the whole composition and the consequences that may evolve from the publication of such a letter. I trust you were not simple enough to risk it on your own responsibility.

J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1 January 1870

Flor del Uncalito

My dear brother Martin,

I wrote you from Buenos Ayres about the 20th of November, enclosing a bill for seventy pounds £70 sterling, which I hope you have received before now. I also included a bill to James Murphy for £40. Dear brother, My letter this time is merely a repetition of my former, with a little more particulars on certain points. I mentioned in my last letter to bring the harness mounting apart from the harness. But on further consideration I think it better they be packet all together. Till the days you send to bring no parcels for any person let which ever two have the least luggage put in one box and be brought out as if owned by one, and the box the harness come in be in the name of the other. The box with the harness to have in every manner the appearance of a passenger box. That box I will give to the man that has no box of his own on his arrival here to hold his clothes. Let them on their landing see Terence Moore, Calle Piedad, and he will get the box with the harness passed the customs, as it will have to pay duty. Give them a card with Moore's address, which is as follows: Mr. Terence Moore, Calle Piedad N° 52 or 54. Give them also a card to Mrs. Austin, the house where they are to stop after landing. Her address as follows: Mrs. Austin, Calle Corrientes N° 63½, having those two cards and showing them to any Englishman, he will direct them where to find the place. Their luggage will be all examined when landed and it would well to see Moore as soon as possible after landing, so as that he will get them dispatched without delay. Tell Hore the saddler to be particular when packing the harness that they will be complete in all their parts, that nothing will be wanting. Let the bits be plain but of composition (German silver), as bits of any other material cannot be kept clean owing to the atmosphere of this country. Write me a fortnight or three weeks before the men start, so as that I may know of their coming. I intend not to begin the fencing till about the middle or better end of February, as the weather is now very hot for men to stand out at work. I find a difficulty in getting an instrument to hoar the posts. They are so extremely hard there is no European wood has a shade of comparison to it as to hardness, and can only say that it is something softer than iron. Dear brother, I cannot account for the season of me not having received any letter from you this last four months, neither have I heard anything of the letter I sent you for publication in the People paper. I mean the letter of last May, which contained the calculation of sheep farming and the reply to the letter of the Child of Respectable Parents. I don't know if the steps I took in regard to that affair has caused your silence. However, I trust is has been nothing more serious, perhaps I acted in this affair according to your good sense too much on the impulse of the moment as I am somewhat of an impulsive ~~nature~~ temperament. But my letter I am sure did not lead you to acts that you considered unwise. The people this last two or three years turned greatly Tillage wheat farming is now all the rage. It pay very well when the crop and season hit the price is generally good. The consumption of flour in Bs. As. is much above the amount produced. I have commenced this last year on my place outside with about 15 acres English, which we are now cutting down. Pat say it is as good as ever he saw at home. I have about 70 acres under indian corn this year also, where there will be wheat next year. What don't answer here in land the first crop there has to be a crop sown in the land here previous to sowing wheat to cool the land. So next year I expect to have about 85 acres of wheat down. I intend to send home for some machinery next year, as labour here take the good out of every business that is trusting to it. I cannot give you the exact price that wheat sell at here as it's sold by a measure as per bushel. But flour best quality sell at about 3½ @ per lbs. Indian corn don't pay otherwise than by feeding pigs, which many has of late turned their attention. A pig of about 20 stone weight here is worth about £6 or £6-10s. To make this

pigs there is but little trouble. The pigs run wild in the camp till about twelve months old, then put in a crib and get corn and pumpkin or other common food for about three months, which time if a healthy animal they are fit to sell. Domestic fowl is another branch of business spring up lately in this country. Fowl depending on what they pick up about a place, are worth from 1s-8d to 30 per couple. They sell at double that price in Bs. As. if they be in pretty fair state. They great downfall in the sheep business if it did ____ it also did much good. The people had to try other experiments and form the retrograde movement in sheep business. This last few years arose a tillage, pigs, and fowl trade, which has all these paid remarkably well so far. Dear brother, send me out by the passengers also a hedge clipper, or hedge shearers, as there is none in this country but French-make, of an inferior quality and cost about 18 shillings each. I was intend to send James letter and bill by this mail also, but having some idea of soon going to Buenos Ayres and lest any mistake might happen about getting out the bill, thought it better to defer sending it till I see farther. I have the letter written and dated 1st January. The bill I send you for seventy pounds last November I hope you got it safe. See that Hore do not deceive you in the mounting of the harness. Examine them and see that they are mounted on German silver, or composition as we call it here. As I said in my last letter that I had about half the number of posts I require for the fencing already on the land. I am now thinking of trying a part of the work with iron posts, that is bars of iron 2 inch wide by 3/8 thick. The cost of these will be dearer than the wood, but the facility of putting them down will have the work done about the same. With the iron posts as with the wood there will have to be principals for large wood posts on which the iron posts will have to depend more for its firmness than will be necessary for the wood, and for their durability I have no proof of which is best. If I try the iron I will have to send to England for it as I can have it from there much cheaper. Dear brother, I hope this will find you all in the enjoyment of good health, and also hope and wish you all a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year, and many returns of same. We pass it here much like any other season of the year. We were intend to hold a little spree this time but the heat of this season be not very pleasant for such pastime. John Boggan being also sick on our hands being one of our principal members cause us to postpone it. Give my love to sister Margaret, to James and all the little ones. Ellen join in kind love to you all, and I remain your dear and affectionate brother,
John Murphy

Clement Reville to Martin Murphy, 25 January 1870

Wexford Convent

My dear Martin,

I saw Brien today and I told him of your arrangement with your brother John. He told me all was right as he thinks he will spend his whole life with him, but he hopes you will enable him to pay his way from here to Liverpool, and from Buenos Ayres to John's own place. He thinks all will be right for him to start in about ten or twelve days. I forgot to tell him about his taking out the harnesses to brother John, but if they be ready for him of course he will take them with pleasure. John Richards told me on yesterday he will have some little things to send to his son by him. I find it impossible to induce Robert Furlong to send out his son. With kindest respects to your sister remains yours ever obliged,
C. Reville

[follows with pencil]

Dear brother,

The bearer Mr. James Furlong is son to Doctor Kubert I. Furlong, Wexford, who is desirous I should give him an introduction letter to you. From \$ all I have heard he is a quiet, well-disposed young man. He has never been to business of any sort, and of course inexperienced in how best to get along in that country. If you will give him to the best of your knowledge your counsel and advice, and do what you can for him.

You will much oblige your affectionate brother,
Martin Murphy

Clement Reville to Martin Murphy, 13 February 1870

Wexford Convent

My dear Martin,

I regret to tell you that young Furlong and young Kavanagh will not go to Buenos Ayres now. I believe their friends intend to pay their way in a little time but I but I have done with them for the present. Young O'Brien was just now with me and he will be ready to start on next Friday from here to Liverpool, so you can send him the necessary papers for his voyage. He tells me if you could give him a Pound to pay his way from B. Ayres to John's place he will pay John by labour afterwards. But if you do not think well of doing it I can manage it for him. I was in Tagoat on Friday with my niece's child funeral, but as Fr. O'Toole was with me I could not call to you. Indeed I did not know till today what young Furlong and Kavanagh intended to do. With kindest respect to your sister, I remain your ever obliged,

C. Reville

Clement Reville to Martin Murphy, 19 March 1870

Wexford Convent

My dear Martin,

I received the enclosed note from Eliza today and the reason I send it to you is to let you see that, I suppose John is very anxious to get this girl Margaret Roche out to him, and hence Eliza tells you to give Margaret the £3 to pay her way in Liverpool and B. Ayres. So if we can get her to go all is right. Her two brothers were with me on St. Patrick's night after I had written my note to you and as I could do nothing for them I told them to go to you on yesterday. I sent them to you that you might get her to go with one of the brothers. If the family, though poor, could send one of the boys and her, all would be right. I will write to her this evening and if she goes I will let you know. Your ever obliged,

C. Reville

I don't think we can give the three Pounds to any one but herself, that is, you could not give it to one of the brothers, but you know best as John might be glad to get the two brothers.

[follows with pencil]

Haysland,

Since I wrote you the letter yesterday relative to the many men I find too often will be ready on the 30 inst. You would greatly obliged me to let those two remain till next ship is sailing after the 30, and either with another ____ with them. Let me know immediately if you will comply with this request.

Eliza Murphy to Margaret Murphy, 4 April 1870

San Martin

Dear Sister,

I take this opportunity of letting you know we are all in good health and trust yourself and brother enjoy the same blessing. We are all very sorry for John Boggan's leaving us for home, yet there is such a charm in the word home that few who enjoy the blessing rarely forget it. So we can't blame him for going although we all lose a friend. I have got the children's cartes de visite taken but the time has been so short that I don't know if they will be finished in time to go with Johnny, who was always Katie's particular friend. Katie is sending this little handkerchief to her aunt Margaret when she can't go herself. We were all sorry for poor Mrs. Furlong's death. It must have been a severe trial on her husband and children, give our love to him and family. Give our love to brother Martin and accept the same fond feeling from your affectionate sister,
Eliza Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 14 May 1870

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother & Friends,

Your letter by

James Roche date the 24 March is safe at hand by the bearer, who arrived here in the 2nd May in good health. His namesake Roche I have not yet seen. He told the parties that I had to receive them in Bs. As., that it was to William he was sent. Be that as it may it is just as well so as I do not need him. I am only sorry you did not send out Mrs. Evoy in place of him, as I think she will answer as much better than her niece or any youngster like her. However what has been done is all right & I must only trouble you now to assist Father Reville in sending out Mrs. Evoy to us as soon as possible. Perhaps brother William will send home the cash to pay for her passage as the passage of his man is already paid for. Having set out the job of fencing to a company of French Bascos hope we not in need of as many hands as I at one time expected. However I shall be able find something to do for those already come. Brother William has rather an strange way of sending home for passengers. He have the business between his, Mrs. & Father Reville. She write home to him to send her out a person but not send the cash till after the person arrive. This naturally must put him to inconvenience having either to borrow the money or raise out of the Bank, neither of which is very agreeable. In case the money should not reach Father Reville from William in time to pay the woman's passage let James or yourself send it over to him to do so & I will have it returned soon. From the ____ way which William & his Mrs. did the business you could not have acted otherwise than the way you did, & as it so happened it turns out well. Your letter of 19th March did not arrive up to now. It is probably mislaid. The enclosed letter I have it open so as that its contents may be known to you, & after reading it enclose it to its owner, who will assist you in arranging matters about the woman's passage. Dear Brother, the camps are splendid this year. I have never during my time in Bs. As. saw then as good as this season. Animals of all kind are fat & increase good. I have señaled, marked up to this date lambs to the number of 25 per cent, and the principal. This is the lambing of six weeks and I expect to have yet about 5 per cent more this year. I am to have only three months lambing, a system I intend to proceed on for the future & I think I will do well for the following seasons. March, April & May are the three best months for lambing & these are the three I choose, as the lambs yearned in

these months are always fit to shear at the proper season. Lambs at a later season are not fit to shear, consequently the winter & spring following find them with so much wool that the scab make its ravages between that & shearing, & from them not infrequently the whole flock is infected. Another advantage in having only three months lambing is, after your March, April & May lambing is over we can part out all our oldest & worst ewes & put them on to the best camp to fatten. They will then be in market at the proper season, say for September & October, which is the months the highest prices are paid & consequence of the wool being then at its full growth. Dear brother, In a letter some time ago I wrote to you some remarks concerning Crosstown. I hope you received the letter. I think it would be well to ____ to it as soon as convenient. I hope is some use to you to have that fund & _____. Let me know how all friends are getting on. We are all well here. William's eldest daughter has met an accident by striking herself in the eye with a sizers [scissors?] but its thought she will not lose the eye. Ellen joins in kind love to you & Margaret & hopes she will receive the little token she sent her by John Baggon as a mark of her love & regards for him. Dear brother, hoping you will with the help of God get relief quickly of your affliction of the legs, & that you will soon be able enjoy the many years that is still left you, is the prayer of your dear & affectionate brother,

J.J. Murphy

Enclosure:

Dear brother, say nothing to anyone about the boy. The _____ let him come if he choose, providing he has _____ to pay his way. William, & and his brother and sister here, don't want to encourage him. If his aunt Mrs. Evoy need a little cash to fit herself out give her a trifle & have the boys coming to himself or his friends here to send for him. My love to all,

J.J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 May 1870

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother Martin,

I wrote you [a] letter on May 16th enclosing one to Father Reville & one to brother James. I understand in your letter to send us out the woman Mrs. Evoy as quickly as possible, but to take no steps. Thought her nephew Roche coming as his brother & sister out here don't wish to encourage him in no way, neither do you encourage him. I have got the harness safe. I like them very well but there is a couple of parts short which Hore did not send. These two articles are the two straps that make part of the collar & _____ to the end of the pole. Hore himself will likely remember of not having sent them. Tell him to get ready to send by the woman if there be no man coming at the same time or before. In Father Reville's letter I told him to _____ you getting out the woman. But it is not necessary for me to say any more on the mother as my last letter to you. If you get it you _____ all particulars. There has another revolution broke out in the upper provinces, chiefly confined to the province of Enteris [Entre Ríos]. The Governor, General Orquiso [Urquiza], & his two sons has been assassinated. It was he that upset old Rosas in Bs. As. His influence ~~was very great~~ & his power was very great through all the upper provinces & he is looked upon as a great loss to the National Government. He was assassinated by a party of cut- throats headed by his own son- in-law, who did so for the power which was held by his victim. But he will be severely chastised as the National Government has taken very action steps to _____ his party, who has accused him in running this revolution. It is expected it will not extend outside the province of Entreris, which will be a blessing to all. Our love to all, your dear brother,

John J. Murphy

P.S. Tell the woman to see Kate Cormack immediately after arriving & she will send her out to us without any trouble to herself. Kate lives in Calle* Victoria N° 313. Mrs. Austin can also tell her the particulars. There has nine men commenced the job of fencing. They are now four days at work, & are going on well. You never told me what the harness cost. The same here that is if there be any like them would at least cost about £80 stg. We are all well & hope this to find you all the same & I remain your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 June 1870

Flor del Uncalito

Dear brother & friends,

Your letter of 7th February 1870 duly to hand. The pleasure I would have felt has been somewhat lessened from the fact of you still being suffering from the effects of your leg. But thanks to God he has provided you with a tolerable share of patience and a good constitution, otherwise the case might be worse, for you are one of the few that have bore it out. Dear brother, my right & title to that part of Crosstown still in our possession I wish to make it over to you, to enable you (at the expiration of Cormick's lease) to arrange matters to your satisfaction. See Harvey, or whatever attorney you think best, & find out how the business can be done & if we can succeed in carrying it out by me signing the documents here. Have them sent out to me in a registered letter, or if it can be done sufficiently safe by me sending to you the power of attorney from here. But me sending you the power of attorney from here may not be sufficient to establish your right to the place as real owners & this I wish to do if it can be done legally & secure. The place is no use to me here, & if I go home I shall ____ need it. Consequently I want to make the business easy for you to carry out at whatever time you think it necessary to make a change. I sent sixty pounds to Brother James on the first of new year. I hope he has received it safe. I wish him to give the price of a passage to Father Reville for a young girl I sent home for sister to the girls William got out a short time ago. She lives at Mrs. Codds Cummins. I have not yet commenced the work of fencing on account of waiting the arrival of the wire from England, which I expect daily. I have made some changes as the principal of carrying out the work in place of seven wires as intended I now only put six with a ditch outside to protect better from cattle. On this principal it will cost me more to do the work & by a more minute calculation I find it will take more material to finish the job, as I have made some necessary additions to it. The whole will now stand about £2,000. It is the first job of this kind attempted to the North or West of Bs. As., & all the great Estancieros are waiting to see the result with the greatest possible interest & anxiety. Most of them seem to take the same view of the matter, that it will not pay. But when the advantages is laid clearly before them they remain as if convinced of being under an ____ mistake. I expect & hope from the way the season is going on not to be a dollar in debt by next March, after completing the work & finishing everything to my satisfaction. I have yet to buy out about \$60,000 dollars for material and about \$30,000 dollars for doing the work, the best of the material. I have on the ground & paid for, so I shall not be very hard run for cash. I feel somewhat disappointed at you not having said anything about the harness, but I suppose it escaped your memory when writing ~~your letter~~. There is a brother of the girl I sent for expecting to come ~~out~~ with her to William. John Boggan & William Edmond is expecting to start for home about the 10th of April next. I am sending some wool by John. It is not yet up to me liking & don't know if it be of any use to you. We took the wrong steps with it. We should

have washed on the sheep back & to have given it much less sun when drying. I would prepare more by next year but I think it's not worth the trouble as I fear from the shortness of the people. It will be of little use for your work. The wool of this country is only adapted for fine merinos. But I did expect you will be able to make something of it. Nor papers this month, nor have I got any but once this last four months & then the papers of two mails came together. James Pender is a very good boy, very ready & willing. Patt Carr is left after being with us twelve months. He struck for rise of wages & after settling with him and knocking about the place a week or so he sent Peter Cormack to see if I take him back. But I declined doing so. Peter Cleary is the stomachiest & best man I have. John Richards I will have to dismiss him. He is getting on badly. I have here at great loss by him these last two years through his want of care & attention to his business. He is scarcely a single night at home in his own house, unless when he has visitors such as himself, leaving my sheep trusting to the Almighty. Of bad disposed people last year I am short on the whole establishment about 2,000 two thousands of the number of increase I should have & which would be worth just now about \$50,000 or £400. No small loss for one year. The risk of sheep being stole this last year is much more certain, as those slaughter houses through the country are ready to bug of any person that drive to them no matter how they came by the stock, & I believe this principal has been carried out on rather an extensive scale last year, & will likely continue so long as sheep bear the present ____ as no regard is paid to the matter by the authorities unless your find your sheep with the parties. But they are sure to be killed before you even miss them out your flocks. There are numbers looking for sheep to buy this year & are ready to \$20 dollars per head. But cannot find any for sale. As to John Cullen, he may have expected different treatment to that received. It is not likely I could need more of him than other people in may *imploy* equally as good or better than he. & from the way his cousin Rossiter treated me, & knowing he would at same time be going over to where he was. I told Cullen when he came out that I had got almost turned against employing new comers, as when they got to know anything of this business & become of service they cleared out to some other place as his cousin did. This piece of information displeased him but did not prevent him from doing likewise. He was discontented with me & was so afterwards with every place. He left the country displeased with everything in it, & the people here surprised at his childish & discontented behaviour. John Cullen is no doubt a good honest man, but only fit for home, for which I think he cried about every day he stayed in this country. Fat sheep without wool are selling at 30 dollars. The camps are splendid, such as I never seen them before. At this early season pasture ____ a foot high. Cotter is I believe living in a place called Carmen de Areco, but John Boggan or William Edmond can tell more about him than I can. I sent home £10 to Father Reville, £5 to put a headstone over Ellen's mother, & other five to distribute amongst the poor of the parish for her soul. This means did not afford than to do much for her before Peter Cleary is sending £8 to his father by John Boggan. Ellen send also a little dress to her namesake, James's youngest daughter. The men are all well about here. I had a letter from Patt yesterday. They are all well out there also. Ellen join me in sending kind remembrance to you all. Hoping it will find you all in good health I remain as ever your dear & affectionate brother,

John J. Murphy

Clement Reville to Martin Murphy, 30 July 1870

Wexford Convent
My dear Martin,

I beg to inform you that Mary Evoy was with me today and told me she will be ready to leave here on next Friday by steamer at 10 o'clock in the morning. You will therefore be so good as to write to Liverpool and secure her place in the ship that will sail on the 10th of August. She tells me she hopes the one Pound from you will do her together with what she may have for herself. I wish you could see her as she is a very strong, healthy woman. She has a letter from her Nephew, who is with William and Eliza and he gives her and all Persons going out every encouragement. So she is in great joy. All Friends there are very well. I will write to John on the 7th of August.

Your ever obliged,
C. Reville

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 25 August 1870

Liverpool, 15th August 1870

Mr. Martin Murphy
Haysland
Tagoat
Co. Wexford

Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of 23rd Inst. enclosing second halves of notes for £14 in payment of Mary Evoy's passage per *Kepler* to Buenos Ayres.

Yours faithfully,
Lamport & Holt

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 August 1870

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother Martin,

The sheep farmers, or at least us residing about this part, are in great glee & has reason to be so. The price of sheep & wool has nearly reached its old standard of 9 or 10 years ago. Fat sheep are now selling at from \$40 to \$53 dollars each, wool from \$60 to 75 and 80 per 25 lbs. Nearly every one is looking for sheep to buy but few disposed to sell, even at unexpected high prices. Before proceeding farther I must acknowledge the receipt of yours of June & enclosing ____ acct. I am glad to hear that you got the articles safe & that John B. & W. Edmond is in good health. We miss John very much from amongst us. I never had in my place anything like him before. He is a most excellent man in every sense of the word & I regretted his leaving this country very much, but he did not suit the climate. The heat here is too strong for his constitution. Tell him when you see him that the fat *tordillo* (gray) horse is turned out a splendid animal, far superior to the other that we thought so much about, both in appearance & proof. He is a horse of a splendid action & a nice agreeable gallop. I don't know as yet what he may make but I wish he had him there with him. Tell him also that they have got on rapid with the fence. They have finished all the outside but by the river. We had already some proof of its resistance against animals, which satisfy me of the opinion I entertained of it withstanding all assaults. Don't forget sending me out by the first person coming from there a couple of bottles of Harness ____ as I believe there is none out here. You never said by what accident Lar Witty lost his all. We anticipate by fire. Frank seem not disposed to send him any more cash. He promise to pay me the pound you gave him. He had a notion of sending for

his son but consider him yet too young. You had better given him no more as Frank may not acknowledge it. Cullen will not likely let Frank do much for Lar or his family. Cullen has got an interest in Frank's sheep. Frank is living with them. He seem to have got quite enough of Cullen already, but Kate is very good & she will endeavour to please him. Frank Doyle say for you to give one pound to Bess Murphy for the tea & also one pound to the priest to say Masses for his mother soul. He say he is to write to you also. It is probable that next year I will be sending home for some machinery, such as a grubber raping machine & rake. This year we shall have a good trial of wheat sowing. We have on my place at Rojas about 120 acres of wheat sown this year & if I see the business pay I shall likely send for those articles as they are a great saving of expense, labour & time. I had on the 12th instant a letter from Father Reville dated July 7, saying that the woman Mrs. Evoy is likely to leave there in a week or two by the first steamer from L-pool. I shipped Jack Richards about three weeks ago, as I could no longer put up with him. He took with him £28 or £30, which I know would not stand him long. But I heard he was speaking of going home next March, & I know if he left here he would keep nothing to take him. I thought I would take him back in order that he might save the little that he had remaining to take him home. So I took him back & at the same time gave him a good fatherly advice. But all such indulgence is lost on him for he only worked four days when he left with some of the other men to go to the same races, but did not return with them nor for four days after. So I dispatched him now in toto not to receive him any more in my employ. If you see Father Reville you may tell him the above as I am not to write to him till after Mrs. Evoy arrive here. You are not mistaken in believing that young Furlong is fond of the soap. About a fortnight after arriving here, some of the men had a bet of a bottle of grog on something & he that last came for the bottle but was refused as I not being at home. On the bottle being refused Furlong set off for one of the puestos (stations), got the horse from the man there which happened to be home what like himself went to a public house for grog, made the man drink & came home drunk & sick himself, & all this because of my Mrs. not giving ~~him~~ grog in my absence, though he was not the person that either lost or was refused it. So you see that was rather a bold beginning & you may tell Father Reville of it also as I may forget doing so when writing to him. He has never seemed so bad about it or with it since. We have had a fine dry winter since the middle of June but the want of rains is now beginning to be felt in many places. At Rojas the men on my place (if the weather continues much longer dry) is speaking of moving some flocks. But many people about there had to move some months ago. The seasons is pressing hard about that neighbourhood as they have a succession of four dry winters now, which is much worse than summer droughts. I am afraid brother Patt will be hard pushed to weather the gale, but I hope it will be soon blow over. James Roche is the worst man I ever got out. He is possessed of all bad qualities you could expect to find in a man. The first figure he cut was about a fortnight after arriving here. He came into dinner with the other men. The dinner consisted of the best of soup with plenty of rice & other ingredients in it, plenty of the best roast & boiled mutton, & plenty of good potatoes. He sat down at table but immediately stood up again & went to the cupboard where there happened to be no bread at that time. He turned to the cook & my sister-in-law, who happened to be there at the time & told them he wanted bread with his soup. Ever since his absurdities has just been something similar to the above & it seem to me his object is to do as much mischief as possible in the way of ____ing up a disturbance between the other men, seem to myself, which up to now has had no effect. In fact he has got all the training that could be well obtained by any member of a Club of cabin society. These expected European war is beginning to have effect on our produce markets. The French here has left off buying & it's thought the markets will be rather depressed at least for some time. Don't neglect sending me the papers regularly & the news from Europe. Now are very interesting. But I think if the war go on, it will ultimately have effect on raising the price of

produce as the Russian War did in 1854. However, we must wait the results. We are all in good health out here. I believe though much I have to do this year is agreeing with ____ as I never this many years enjoyed better health than I did since I commenced the work of _____. Let me know if James & you can do with bask form here till I go to Bs. As. with the wool. Ellen join in sending our best love to you, Margaret, James & all the family. I remain as ever your dear brother,
John J. Murphy

F. Donovan to Alice Gaule, 13 April 1871

683 Calle Rivadavia, Buenos Aires
Mrs Alice Gaule
Miltown, Tagoat
Co. Wexford
Ireland

Madame,
I enclose you by order of Mr Murphy, Salto, a passage ticket for you and child to Buenos Aires. The agents in Liverpool are Lamport and Holt, 21 Water Street Liverpool. They will write to you and advise you of the sailing of the steamer they start from Liverpool almost every fortnight. I am, Madame, yours most respectfully,
F. Donovan

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 28 May 1871

Flor del Uncalito
My dear brother Martin & friends,
Mr. Donovan, a gentleman from the County Cork, & his family are staying with us here since the first of May having cleared out from the sickness in Bs. As., but not till after they had all passed it over. But by a miracle from God none of them died, as the sickness is now abating. He left here on the 15th, leaving his family behind him till such time as he consider it safe to take them in, as there are yet something about fifteen or twenty new cases daily, which show that the disease is still lurking about the City & well it is feared till the houses & infected places are properly cleansed & purified. I sent by Donovan cash to take out Bills. One for James Furlong £63 stg., one for James Murphy (Ballygeary) forty pounds £40, & one for a Mrs. Cadd of the town of Wexford for four pounds £4 stg. Out of the £63 for brother James he is to hand over to Roche brother-in-law to Dick Flood six pounds nine shillings & six pence £6-9s-6d, which is the balance remaining of what he Dick Flood sent home to pay James, as he say he owed him £6-6s-6d. I sent some papers by him also, which will give you an account of the sickness & its ravages in the City. After reading the papers you may send them to Father Reville to have a look at. I enclosed a note for you in a letter to him a little time ago, but as the postal regulations are affected like all other business in the country it is not safe whether they reach you or not. As the sickness is fast decreasing its thought business will commence again with activity & it's likely the Bills will be there about the latter end of June. This is a splendid year so far but the sickness has thrown business back very much. It is thought there has about fifteen thousand succumbed, that is the official account, but I fear there are perhaps a thousand or two more. The Standard say twenty six thousand & add. The Government has chastised him severely for (as they believe) his exaggerated accounts send

home as they believe such accounts are likely to retard emigration to this country, which they are endeavouring to promote by all means. In view of something more interesting I will send you an account of the price of the produce of this country & other articles made use of in it according to market _____. Wool from 40 to 60 dollars per arroba, which is 25 lbs. Beef & mutton grace in _____ 45 to 48 dollars per @ (this stands for arroba). Do not rendered from 25 to 30 per @. Sheep skins with 6 months wool \$80 per dz. Bullock & cow hids from \$60 to 100 according to weight. Bullocks fat but not anything like home cattle \$300 each. Cows _____ \$250. Fat whethers, though not the season, are worth \$40 each. Sheep by the cut, that is as the flock stand, \$30 each but none but forced sales, say for debt & CC. Fowl from \$10 to 20 per couple. Turkeys from \$40 to 80 per pair. Geese & ducks not plenty enough to offer for sale. Potatoes one dollar per lb. Wheat from \$25 to 30 per @. Barley about \$15 per @. Indian corn the same price as the wheat. The crop has been a failure this year. Flour from \$35 to 40 per @ at the mills. Beef in the market ½ dollar per lb. Mutton a little dearer. Onions 5 to 10 for one dollar. Cabbage one dollar per _____. English butter \$15 per lb. Cheese the same. Pork \$6 per lb. Pork fat a load \$8 per lb. Sugar from 2¼ dollars to 3¼ per lb. Coffee \$4 per lb. The two strokes with an S across it mean dollar. Tea from \$20 to 30 per lb. Rice \$2 per lb. Best brandy by the _____ \$25 per bottle. Best gin \$20 per _____ bottle. Sherry & _____ \$30 per bottle. Other wines from \$4 to 10 per _____. Others still a better quality \$15 per bottle. The bread or biscuits we _____ in the house are baked from for the purpose of _____ longer without getting bad, are \$40 per @. Working horses from \$300 to 500 cash. Cost Do from \$1,000 to 3,000 cash. Nice saddle Do about \$1,000 cash. A pair of coach horses matches from \$3,000 to 6,000 cash. Hay bout \$900 per ton. Clothing in general are very dear. A suit of fine black cloth would cost here \$2,000. A suite of tweed good class \$800, cord pants good \$100 each. A common monkey packet \$250. Collicars from \$2½ to 6 per yard. Cotton trousers the same. Fine linen from \$15 to 20 per yd. Blankets good quality more. _____ from \$100 to 200 per pair. Felt lots from \$20 to 200 each. Silk for dresses from \$40 to 60 per yd. Silk handkerchiefs from \$25 to 100 each. English saddles from \$600 to 1,000 each. Harness such as those Hore sent me about \$10 or 12,000 the set. Common sets from \$3,000 to 5,000. Monthly wages for men from \$300 to 400 per month with support. While collies shirts with linen breast & collar \$40 to 60 each. Woollen stockings none good. Men boots from \$100 to 200 per pair. Bootins with elastic \$140. Leaden boots \$100 per pair. Paisley guard from \$700 to 1,000. I bought a piano a few days ago, a very good one second hand, \$5,500. Common _____ with _____ \$1½ per foot. Other classes in proportion according to quality. Coal \$400 per ton. Fencing wire \$115 per 100 lbs. Hard wool posts for fencing & C from 9 inches circumference _____ from \$12 to 20 each. Carpenter wages from \$40 to 60 per day. Nick Pierce that came out to me was has \$1,500 per month & his support. Here in Salto kerosene oil for lamps \$20 per gallon. Lime, slacked, more or less adulterated \$10 per arroba. Bricks 14 inches long, 7 inches wide by 2 inches thick, \$220 per thousand. This is the general size mad in this country. They are made of the black earth with a quantity of _____ of straw or old grass mixed among it so as to make them burn. Flooring & roofing tiles 8 inches square from \$8 to 900 per thousand. Shingles \$150 per thousand. Soap such as you use for car soap at home \$2 per yard for building a brick wall 14 inches thick (that is the length of a brick) \$9 per square yard. A brick floor (for _____) \$4 per square yard. \$ this mean dollars. @ mean arroba & is 25 lbs. The yard is only 34 inches. I have another job on hands this winter killing the biscachas, an animal about the size of a large cat but much larger. A number of them live together in large burrows in the camp. They live on grass & consume a great deal of it. They keep ten fifteen yards all around their burrow bare to the ground, & after some time the part so eaten became barren as they leave not even the roots with the ground. On my camp there are two thousand nine hundred & odd burrows, & I consider they consume the grass of a flock of sheep, say 2,000. I have contracted with an Italian; for the whole job I pay him \$23,000 (twenty three thousand

dollars) & give him meat. He find men & tools & is to leave the camp completely clear of foxes & biscachas, both animals a great nuisance. They have already done seven hundred & odd burrows & expect to be through with all before shearing. Frank Whitty's business is I must say going on slowly. There are a great many draw back to the business, but I think things will be soon arranged. To get through with business here in the Government offices a man need more than a reasonable share of patience, & if a person show displeasure at their indolence or their cunning attempts as swindling they are sure to annoy any more by their delays. James will have got the Bill ere this reach you. I would not have written you this lot of stuff were it not that I know you are always anxious to hear from us often &, more particularly, when I write you in the enjoyment of good health, a blessing we all enjoy & I hope all friends their are the same. Dear Friends, is the constant wish of all friends out here, & more particularly of your dear & ever affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 9 July 1871

Flor del Uncalito

Dear brothers & sister,

The last letter I had from you is dated January last. I have written several since then but I hope nothing serious has happened to prevent you from writing before now. We are all in the best of health thanks to God. William has got another young daughter on the 20th. They had a letter from Father Reville by last mail but not much news. Frank Gaul (Milltown) is now with me. We re expecting out his wife & child by every steamer. Let me know about her if she be not yet left as what is the cause of her delaying so long. Maggie & Mr. Brett is not yet married. To enable a Protestant & Catholic to get married here they have to go through a great many forms, which require a long time to accomplish, & the sickness being in the City prevented anything being done up to now. The arrangement of Whitty's property will take some months yet before it is settled. The case is gone now before the Justice of the first state. It will at least be three or four months there, owing to so many cases of like nature being on hand in consequence of the deaths from the Epidemic in the City. I gave money some time ago to a man going to the City to take out Bills, one for James Murphy, one for brother James & one for a Mrs. Codd, who has a son out here that you gave me the money to send her. I believe she live in Bride street, Wexford. This man wrote me to say that he sent the money, £4 all included, in brother James' bill, & that he wrote to you to that effect. Now if she has not yet got the money give the £4 (four pounds) to Father Reville to give to her, as he likely know the right person. Mary Evoy, who has given great satisfaction since she came out, is desirous to send a couple pounds to her Father. I told her I would have it sent him through you in the following manner. James or you, when you see Father Reville, give him the £2 (two pounds) to be given to Father Murphy of Tagmond for Mary Evoy's father, Matthew Evoy of Ballingale. Give a copy of this to Father Reville lest he mistake in how to dispose of the money. Let this two pounds be taken out of the Bill I sent to James, & let him as soon as convenient send me an account of whatever money he paid out on my account since he sent me his last account. This is & has been a splendid season for the camps, but great year of foggy weather so much so that the flocks are in general very lame. The abundance of grass on the camp & the fog every day prevent the sheep feet from ever drying & lameness is the consequence. But with all the animals of every description are fat. The slaughter houses are not yet began to kill, yet fat sheep are selling at from 38 to 40 dollars each. We sold last week outside on the Caldera at the former price. This is a splendid year on the Caldera camps good & sheep fat. We marked five thousand & all lambs up to now off a principal of 13,000 & odd,

sheep the best I've heard of in the country this year. The fences nothing can shake it. Some animals has been forced in but without causing any injury unless to themselves. It is now admitted by all hands a success. The security of property, the ease in working the establishment, relieved of the necessary trouble I formerly had with men, & though last not least the peace of mind I now enjoy is worth more to me than double what the fencing has cost. Dear Brother Martin, it's a long time since I sent you any help. & I don't know but you may have often times needed a little but I trust whenever you do that you will acquaint me of it. Though I am a good large sum in debt, yet I hope no difficulty in getting at anytime whatever amount I need, which may not be the case with you at home. I am at this date about 100,000 dollars in debt. Last year I solicited the Caldera in purchase from the government, but owing to the sickness the business is not as yet dispatched, but hope to be before the close of this year. This business will cost me 200,000 dollars paid by instalments in six years of 1/6 each year. I pay the first instalment on receiving the papers of the land. The government holding a mortgage on the property for the payment of the remaining parts. The purchaser is at liberty to pay the whole amount at the beginning at a deduction of 20 per cent. This deduction of 20 per cent (in case I choose), this made of payment lease the amount I have to pay at 160,000 dollars. I intend to raise the 160,000 dollars at interest, & get clear of government officials as I much prefer having business to do with private parties than with a government whose officers & employees are a composition of corruption. This business will perhaps about next September complied to what I am already in debt, involve me to the amount of about 260,000 dollars. Having the purchase arranged this way I am at liberty to sell the property at any time & will more readily find a purchaser. Brothers William & Patt owe me still about 100,000 dollars, which I intend to get in on this occasion. The rest I may have to raise will cost me in the Provincial Bank of Bs. As. an interest of 8 per cent per annum, bills received every 90 days & paying 5 per cent of principal at each renewal, which is considered very reasonable terms.

[close Mary's letter]

We received some Leicester rams from England the other day, William two & I four. Their first cost was £10 each, but by insurance freight etc. etc. they stand in here the sound sum of 3,000 dollars each. We intend giving only one cross of the breed to the flocks, so as to give a greater length of staple to the wool & not to reduce its fineness to any degree, that might cause it dismerit. The will also add to our breed a tendency to fatten with better form of animal & a larger size. It is spoken of here again that a company in England is about getting up another line of steamers for taking home live stock from. If such is the case, & if freight expenses be not too high I may take the notion of sending home some young horses. I have now some ten or twelve that I could get tamed & select from amongst them a few that would answer. Frank Whitty's property amounts to something about £380, but before it is retired from government sharks it is likely to be reduced considerably. Such is the case of more not having a Will made. A man here having property & dying intestate, though having his wife & family in possession of it, have to go through so many forms, particularly if they be foreigners, that it have it scarcely worth the trouble of looking after it & ____ when the parties has been married out of this country. Mary Evoy's letter I thought it better enclose it to you so as that it may accompany the money to its destination. Ellen & all friends join in sending you all their kind love & regard, trusting it may find you all in the enjoyment of good health, it is also the sincere wish of your ever affectionate brother,

John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 October 1871

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother & Friends,

Yours very welcome & interesting letter of September 7 to hand on the 12th October. In the first place I am rejoiced to find that you are all in good health & getting on so well. My letter in reply to your about the machinery could not have reached you. It must have been mislaid. As I told you in it that I had got a supply of all I required for the present, & that what I may yet need they are to be found here & have the advantage of seen them proved. Another advantage if a post break it can be got here as there is a supply on hand of all those posts most liable to break. Brett sent home to Pierce to send him out a post for that which got broken, but I believe he has not even replied to his letters. Mrs. Gaul is safely arrived. I happened to meet her on her way out at Mercedes, about half way, & we were the rest of the road together. The deed of assignment in order to insure its safe arrival. Should be registered I shall do same on returning it. You say Willie & Kate are in school in Wexford. I received no letter from James this long time. The letter you speak of him acknowledging the money I never got as you say he did so about a month before you wrote. I note all the deaths you speak of. The most of them I had an account of before. The people of Kilrane, particularly Ballygeary, will get a start at Matt O'Connor's arrival home. Bill will shuffle great at seeing him. There will be likely some fine about Matt if he had enough to pay his passage home it's all he could have. He took home money for some ____ here to them friends. James Pender sent £4 or 5 to his father. I hope it may reach him. He did not come over see us before he left, & for reasons you may guess having owed me £8 or 9 but I forgive him. The new owner of Ballygeary has yet an odd fish to Dole with whom he has Matt being none improved by his stay in this country. It was said about here that his sister Margaret sent for him to go home. If so what a fix! John Furlong (Ballygilane) may have £10 or 20. He was a very steady boy out here, but knocked about rather much which arose from causes he had no control over. I am glad to hear that James has sent Willie & Kate to school, that is a thing he should not neglect in them all at least so far as become their position. The business of poor Frank Whitty's property is not as yet dispatched. Our neighbour Luis, who was a partner in the flock of sheep, is still continuing to give trouble. The criminal case I brought against him is nearly brought to a close. He is likely to be taken in prison in a few days. I hear he will have to account for his acts. He did all he could to destroy as do away with the flock. You will naturally say how slow things are done, but imagine my own case as regards the purchase of the Caldera, two years last September I solicited the purchase of the place from the Government, and is not yet dispatched. But I gain by the delay. I finished my shearing on the 14th October, the wool in splendid condition. I have been offered at the house \$70 (seventy dollars) per arroba of 2 lbs., but declined. Perhaps I may not do better by sending it to market though the price at present is good & demand great. How long the market may continue so it's hard to say, but accounts seem to say they are likely to stand. I sold 808 fat sheep on the 4th October at \$50 dollars each, the highest price paid. The number were small but I felt disinterested in selling this year on account of the high price offering for wool & with a view of letting my stock increase, as the camp since it has been enclosed well keep a quarter more stock. We had a few heavy rains since the 15th. The drought, which continued this last four months, began to tell on many of the camps about here, but more particularly in the adjoining provinces, where the cattle had began to clear out in search of pasture. I expect there will be a nice sum to James ____ after the sale of he wool, say about £120. I may send some of it to him when in with the wool. I expect to clear off all my debts this year paying for the Caldera & all (I mean after the sale of the wool). From sales of sheep both here & on the Caldera I have about \$80,000 (eighty thousand dollars) to my credit in the Bank of Salto. I expect to realize about \$170,000 (one hundred & seventy thousand) by the sales of my wool here, & forty thousand by the sale of wool at the Caldera, which in all make about \$290,000. I have to pay out of that \$160,000

(one hundred & sixty thousand) for the purchase of the Caldera, \$23,000 (twenty three thousand) for the killing of the biscachas on Uncalito, & about \$50,000 (fifty thousand) over up & down, make in all about \$233,000 dollars all told. The balance to meet the expenses of the coming year. Brother William paying off the debt he owed my account, in a great measure for my present independent position. His account reached the sum of \$100,000 dollars, which he had for eight years at an interest of exactly half what I paid myself for cash raised. Dear Friends, this has been a very unhealthy season, as always do every years of droughts. Smallpox has been very prevalent & has caused numerous deaths, particularly amongst children. We had no case of it yet on the place, but has been all around us. On the camp Mr Brett is on which is close to, there has been some very bad cases. Patt Ennis & Peter Cleary, some of the worst. They barely got through it. Brett & my sister-in-law got married after going through a great many forms on the last of July. He is still manager of a wealthy native Estanciero's property, the owner of which died of apoplexy a few days ago & left a widow & five children but independent. Such an accident may bring a change in the place after a little. Mr. Richards, from near Goffs Bridge, who with his family came out here a few months ago, lost his eldest daughter. She took sick of smallpox on the same day they got married, & was buried in six days after. Her husband James Furlong, a steady good man from Mor Tenacre, is now lying ill with same but not of a bad type. Edward Farrell, County Surveyor's son, has fell into a good situation at \$1,000 per month. James Furlong, Dr.'s son, was here a few days ago looking for employ. I fear he is not doing much. Let me know occasionally as you did in your last all the news about the people at home, particularly of Matt & his achievements. I expect to be able send you a New Year gift this year God willing. I conclude by asking another request, that is to send me the making of two pair of flannel drawers by the first that come out from that neighbourhood, as the flannel here is all too fine. We are all well, with kind love and regard for all I remain your dear & affectionate brother,
John J. Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 11 February 1872

Flor del Uncalito

My dear brother Martin,

On my arrival home from Buenos Aires (with an increase in the family on New Year's Day of a young daughter named Elizabeth Agnes, all well), I received the document of transference all right, and may be that I will not send post it back till myself or someone of confidence are going to Buenos Aires for fear of its safety. It's already signed by myself, and Derinzey J. Brett as a witness. With regards to Lar. Whitty, affair I can now tell you that either Flaherty or McVicary or both has made a cursed blunder in the power of attorney they sent me. In it, McVicary on oath has put down Lar Whitty at twenty one years of age, which fact left him one year short of being of age according to the law of this country. The fact of me knowing Lar to be an old man caused me to read over this particular with such confidence (that no mistake could exist in a document made out by such clever men), that the blunder escaped my notice. This unfair damnable mistake of their has caused me and those concerned an unaccountable amount of delay, trouble, and expense. Why did they not put the man down at something like his natural age, say 50, yet 40 or even at 30? But their ignorance of everything outside of matters exactly inside their own nose caused them to believe that the law existing in England should naturally be the same over the whole world. Your letter which accompanied that document prove the same, from the fact of Flaherty having said that the Argentine consul's signature was unnecessary, which, had it arrived without it, left it completely useless. Give both of them my compliments, with lecture on these matters. The

business after proceeding several months in this direction, as if none of the two errors were minor at last it reached the *Cámaras*, that is before the judges of the first state. They got the document translated again for their own satisfaction and as a guarantee to warrant their proceedings. And, lo, they found Lar Whitty a minor, at 21 years of age, this broke up all the business that had already being got through, and the course of proceeding had to be changed altogether. Trustees had to be named and the business had to go through different courts altogether. I [am] under the impression that no such blunder could have existed in the document that trickery was at work protested against the translation of not being correct. I solicited permission from the judges to hunt up the original document to satisfy myself as to the truth. This cost me thirteen days of diligent search through the different offices it had passed through. No one caring or desirous to gratify me without remuneration. At last I came foul with it, and I assure you I could scarcely believe my eyes when I read Lar Whitty put down at 21 years of age. I shut up and walked out as if I got a kick where you know. So the parties interested must have patience as well. I enclose you this in a letter to Father Reville. Joe Murphy, George Furlong, and Nick Pierce are going home I suppose about next April. They are selling off not expecting to return. I doubt very much if they be contented there no more than here. More particularly, George and Nick whose minds is a wear on their constitutions. We are all going on well. The season [is] splendid and all kind of stocks and produce rising in nature. Desiring kind love to all I sent a bill for 46 £ home by mail of 14th, also further with instructions about it. I hope you got the bill sent in November with the New Year's gift. My love to all.

John J. Murphy

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 25 March 1872

Mr Martin Murphy
Haysland
Tagoat, Wexford
Ireland

Liverpool
Sir,

We are duly on receipt of your letter of 22nd inst. enclosing half notes for £ 13 on account of steerage passage to Buenos Aires for Mr Flood. As we informed you in our letter of March 23rd inst., the 'Copernicus' does not go farther than Monte Video. We have therefore put Mr Flood's name down for a berth in the 'Ptolemy', sailing on the 10th April direct to Buenos Aires. Please instruct him to be here with Mr Graham at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 9th April. In remitting the balance of Mr Graham's passage, please deduct your commission of 5% on both passages, say twenty six shillings (26 s). Yours faithfully,
Lamport & Holt

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 June 1872

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother & Friends,
I am in receipt of your letter dated the 4th of April, & also that of Brother James of same date. We are all well, glad to see by them that all friends are in the enjoyment of good health, &

that the boys has arrived safely home. Mary, Patt's wife, & Mrs. Brett had been in from Rojas this week. I received the letters. They came with Mr. Brett to meet Father Leahy on Sunday the 16th (being his day for officiating in Salto), to have their Mrs. Brett's first born, a young son, christened & received the name of Edward Edmond. Mr. Brett spent that day & night with us, & then returned to his place in Rojas, leaving the two women to spend the week at Uncalito. Mr. Brett has got a splendid situation, but a great deal to do, for which he is quite capable. His salary is five thousand dollars per month, found in everything, except clothing, £480 per year, a nice income for a beginner. It is his master bought the fat sheep from me last year, & has also done so this. He has already taken 1,000 head, half of the number contracted for \$50 dollars each, six hundred of the number has to be old ewes. The refuse of the breeding flocks, which I keep apart with the wethers. He had his choice to take them conditions or pay \$55 dollars each & part at selection out of the fattening flock kept apart specially for sale & meat. They keep working a slaughter house on the establishment, which has stimulated the price of fat sheep through the entire district. I am sorry to see by your letter that the winter has been so scarce at home. But the high price for stock & grain will I trust palliate in some measure for the consequences that must emanate from bad seasons, & with all I am glad to see that you are pulling along so bravely, that you are so united & happy & I pray God you may all live long together in happiness & confort. Dear Friends, We are now in the middle of winter, & how strange to say, that many district are suffering from a drought, same in this partido of Salto. There have already flocks of sheep been moved for want of something to eat. The heads of cattle has strayed from their owners to wherever they can get food. Even at the Caldera things lack _____ enough. Brother Patt is speaking of moving a flock if rain don't soon come. The other flocks from being small will get along well enough, & with all the sheep are in good condition as may be seen from the fact of Patt been offered \$53 dollars each for fat sheep to part at selection, young ewes excepted. Another chance for proving the utility of fencing, I have now 21,000 sheep, 5,000 more than ever I had before on Uncalito. I have also promised Patt room for his flock providing he should have to move. I have assured the purchase of 500 head of cattle, which I intend to receive in a few days. I have arranged with Brett's master (who live in the City) to buy & send me out 400 or 500 head of Novillos (bullocks) from Bs. As. Those from the City are cattle that been sent in for sale from camps not able to fatten them. They are generally thin & sell at about half price of fat cattle. The cattle from Bs. As. when fat I shall sell off, Brett's master do a large business in this way but owing to the state of the camps at present he do nothing. Moreover I can keep them at little or no expense, wherein he & others in the business has to pay for herding them &c., which take at least 50 per cent of the profit. I am sure & men in the business has also told me that I am sure to clear 100 per cent on the capital invested. I am sorry your member poor Devereux is getting on so badly, but I suppose his fate is designed to be such. What a misfortune. Out here we are not aware how Mr. Redmond has came in on Ballytreat, or is it rented he has it. All out here, Wexfordmen, wish him success at Election. We have not seen Flood as yet, but we hear that he left the parcel for me in Bs. As. But I don't as yet know where God knows how safe it may be. Dear Brother, with regard to Ballecagly, as to how you manage it, it would be more than absurd in me to offer you an advice residing as I am over six thousand miles from there, even though I was on the ground I could not for want of *practicle* experience pretend to know as much of same business as you do. Consequently my opinion might prove more an interruption than a service to you. No man can be better adapted to dispose of the business than you are, & I thus leave it entirely in your hands. I don't remember if I mentioned to you in a previous letter of me having bought out the Caldera from the Government. It is now the simple property, & to make it so cost me now \$260,000 dollars cost down. The cost for the sale of the 2,000 fat sheep I have made along with what I have already paid just clear all the debt off, so I will then be a free man again. To pay for the cattle that I'm buying I must draw

on the faith of next years' wool money. If I cannot effect another sale of fat sheep, I am sure of a sale at Rojas, but that I do not calculate on been able meet the amount of purchase. Moreover, the bullocks which I intend buying I expect to sell them all off by the last of December all fat. I think from the above you will be able form an idea of what may be gained by fencing, & many of our countrymen are trying the experiment just now. But I guess it will became a failure in many cases from the fact of being as sparing with the cash, trying to complete a job with perhaps half the money they should, reasonably lay out. It is only now my neighbours are obliged (though reluctantly) to give me credit for the experiment of fencing camps. Dear Brother, Mary Evoy is desirous to send her Father Matthew Evoy (Balingale) two pounds, £2. Consequently I must trouble you once more to give F. Reville the £2 to hand over to Father Murphy, P.P. Tagmond for him. If you chance to see F. Murphy before you see F. Reville you can give it to him, with directions what to do with it. I fancy I am drawing on your pocket for more than my credit account will answer for, & that those presents & New Year gifts ~~will~~ which I send you will be merely a shadow & not worthy of the name of gifts. I have just been looking over your letters to see & find out how our account stand, but your letters don't state whether the money laid out on my account was remitted to you in full or that it was taken out of your own funds. These are matters that did not cross my mind till now, & I wish you & James to send me out an account both Debtor & Credit of the money spent on my account, not taking into account what I send as presents or New Year's gifts, nor as money due to James from his business here. Think I must be much in your debt. Let me know all for I assure you it seem to me that I send for several articles & some passengers that I never sent the money to pay for, & I also assure I am really desirous to know how I stand with you. I send a slip with Ben Williams's address, which you will send to Nicholas Pierce (Tacanshome). I send also a letter to him from Ben, but lest it might go astray. I send you the enclosed, since I commenced the letter the rain has come. Last night & all this day heavy rain but mild, it's a great God send for many particularly as having passed off without any severe cold storm. The enclosed letter you may forward with the £2 to Mary Evoy's father. Mary is a most excellent woman. I wish we had another like her. Mrs. Gaul is with her husband in the gatehouse. Tom & Mrs. Cullen is still with us & will be till the Whitty business is settled. We will be wanting one then, so if you know anyone that will suit us send her out, if Anne Flood came. We are all well, hoping this may find all enjoying the same blessing there, with kind love to all we remain your affectionate,
John & Ellen Murphy

P.S. Patt & Mr. Brett live close to each other.

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 9 October 1872

Mr Martin Murphy
Haysland
Tagoat, Wexford
Ireland

Liverpool

Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of 7th inst., and can take Stephen Byrne to Buenos Aires either in our boat sailing on the 19th inst. (in which case he must be here not later than 10 o'clock on the morning of the 18th inst.), or by our steamer of the 1st November. Please let us know by

which steamer he will go. ____ Gahan has not been near our office since we last wrote to you about him, nor has he sent us any word about the things you mention. Yours faithfully,
Lamport & Holt

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 December 1872

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother,

I have been [torn] on your generosity this long time by order [torn] articles & circumstances that I am [torn] safe to think that the amt. I send you well be sufficient to pay all I owe. John Hoare sent me the acct. by Byrne of the harness & chest. The sum total is £5-15s-6d, which you will be also pleased to pay. I enclose in this a Bank Bill for £24 for Mrs. Margaret Howlin (Ballyell), from her son James. Please hand over to Father Reville the first opportunity £5 of this I send you. He know what to do with it. All the Friends out here are well & as I start for Bs. As. on tomorrow I have the finishing of this letter there. The Rojas wool, nor that part of Uncalito wool I sent to Bs. As. is not yet sold. Market's very dull. Send you [torn] James a few papers (regardless ~~irrespective~~ of date) that [torn] might be interesting to Mr. Meadows [torn] them. They say much of the works going [torn] this country. December 23, 1872. [torn] Brother, I send James a Bill for £150, [torn] of which he will give to you for the purposes above _____. Also divide amongst the most deserving poor of the parish £5 in sums as you think fit. If Bess Murphy is still leaving don't forget her, though not of the parish. We are all well. Wool looking up. Land in great demand. I was told to day to name my terms for Uncalito. I feel slow move in selling it, at lease for some time. My love to all from your dear brother,
John

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 12 January 1873

Estancia Caldera, Rojas

My dear Brother,

I was in the act of writing you the other day where I received through John yours of October 25th, which relieved us of much anxiety to hear of you all being in good health, particularly they young lads. And to hear of them progressing favourably and conducting themselves to your satisfaction is, I assure you, a consolation indeed. You tell me you were obliged to chastise them on two occasions for same offence, but the second should have been accompanied by the rod to impress on their minds the necessity of obeying in future. In this country I persevered as much as possible to prevent their mixing with the men, as I consider in nine cases out of ten it proves injurious to the moral training of youth. Yet as you say there are some exceptions which people know at a glance, wherein it would prove a benefit for children to associate with. And I am very happy to hear you have got such, and for his kindness to they children it may not be forgotten. The letter you say you forwarded a few days previous to receiving mine of August, never came to hand. It's probable in it. You gave me an acct. of Mr. Ballesty & Father Leahy's visit. They both, particularly the former, gave us a glowing acct. of they young lads & respectability of the old homestead, of which you might feel proud. The latter spent last night with us, and likely this one also. I am sorry to see by your letter that the crops are bad in the extreme. And by the Papers also I perceive that Hay in particular will bear a ruinous price this year, all in consequence of the wet. We have had in this country many years to complain of from Drought alone, but the two last have been most

propitious. And I hope with the help of God you will soon have a change also for the better. We have the misfortune of having our Wool on hands yet. We could sell now but at a sacrifice of full 20 percent to that of three months since, all chiefly attributable to the rise in the money market of England. By the last mail the news rather encouraging, a fall in Bank rate from 8 to 6 and expectation of a lower rate soon. By this we may expect a reaction in the Wool Market, but probably in two months hence. William Bogan is at present in a very delicate state, been attacked by the same disease which compelled him to proceed to Buenos Ayres last year. I leave it to your discretion whether to disclose it to his friends or not. We are very sorry to hear of poor Joe Murphy. You will give him our regards and tell him we sympathise with him in his affliction. He promised leaving here that he would get likeness of they young lads taken in Buenos Ayres to send us but time did not permit him to do so. I never got any acct. from you as to whether you received any cash from Joe on their arrival. Please let me know. If it would be no inconvenience we would feel for ever grateful if you could send from there their likenesses. I enclose to you our pretty pictures. Mary & I with our youngest son, Patrick Martin, Katy Elizabeth alone, also in the group, Annie Maria & Bridget Margaret. Therefore we wish ye good bye for the present, desiring to be kindly remembered to Mickey & Johnny, sister Margaret, James & family, not forgetting yourself. I remain dear Brother, yours as ever, Patt P.S. Give the enclosed to George Furlong, P. I had a letter enclosed for George, but I thought the whole too heavy. Tell him I will write him soon. Tom Pitt would wish to know if his cousin intends coming. If not he has got to return to here the ticket, Patt

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 23 February 1873

Flor del Uncalito

My dear Brother Martin,

Having for this last long time written you regularly every month, my last by the mail of the 14th inst. which should have contained a Bill to James for £200. This business (having to be trusted to a man in the City) I cannot warrant you its arrival in due time. I have wrote to him since enquiring if the business has been dispatched & I think if he delayed doing so it will not be later than this. As I said before, having written so frequent that I feel I have got very little to say on this occasion, but not wishing to miss so favourable an opportunity, I thought I should drop you a line or two by Kate, who intend as I said before to start about the first of next month. The rains & broken weather continue frequent & heavy up to the present. I have never remembered for my time in this country such a wet season for the time of the year. The camps in many parts has up to the present been very bad, & great losses of sheep & cattle. The Widow Kenny & a native Estanciero joining me had to move cattle & sheep off & several others, Duffy's, Dowling's, Pacheco's & all the Estancias in the direction of Bs. As. suffered more or less. I give the names, as George or any of the boys that's gone home know them. Myself, thanks to God, came out no way hard run, & for this last four weeks since the first of the rain has abundance of grass. I had no losses whatever more than the average run of other years. I proposed selling 2,000 sheep by the cut at \$40 dollars. I have been offered \$38 but won't take it. If I don't get \$40 I will endeavour to hold them on, though my stock is very heavy. Last year I had during the whole winter about 22,000 sheep, 380 head of cattle & about 150 head of mares & horses. That is within a fraction of five sheep to the statute acre, beside cattle & mares. This year, unless I sell, will amt. to about the same. I don't think any land in Europe, even in England, the garden of the world, is able to do that all round the year. There is an advantage in holding an even at \$40 dollars if it was possible. A person could do so, because 2,000 sheep that you sell now, you may calculate on 500 lambs going with them.

Wherein holding them on till before shearing, say six months from now, the 2,000 would thus cannot, with lambs 2,000 at \$40 (a low figure at that season), you make \$20,000 dollars by the transaction merely for the grass they eat. The care is all the same. These are safe calculations, nothing to risk except the chance of meeting a bad winter, & if I don't succeed in getting \$40 dollars now I shall be tempted to make a run for the \$20,000 next September. Frank Whitty's case still going on, a little point advanced in every three or four months. You may guess the class of people we have to deal with from the following. Dr. Agrelo, the head judge of the Minors' Court, has been thrown _____ the Castle as _____ charged with having defrauded the minors & heirs of property of several millions of money during this last 17 years which he held office in the high courts. The government seized his office & its contents & ordered an examination with his officers, & it's found out that property & will cases of some 20 years standing has been all made _____ with. The greater part of same & the whole of others, amounting to some millions of £s. stg. This *scandle* brought to be exposed will do immense good in the country. Other high officers if examined into would be found as bad or perhaps worse. This exploded by the parties bringing a charge against the Judges secretly. He moved the responsibility on to the Judge. The Judge are a charge of fraud & defamation of character got the secretary pitched into prison. Little thinking that the secretary had kept copies of his instructions to him, both playing their cards out of one hand some times, and separately on others as circumstances required. The Secretary after being imprisoned appealed to the public through the press. Same of which has handled in a masterly manner so much so that the whole of the corruption has come to the surface. The Standard say very little of the matter, leaving it as he say amongst themselves. There are three or four Spanish papers printed here now that is a terror to the Government & those occupying high & responsible offices. They have to mind there _____ & _____ now to be able escape their vigilance. Their old plain & careless way of robbing the public will not do. All such offices here are dens of corruption, hence the delay & annoy once in getting any business dispatched, where money or property is in question. The wool market here is still holding 10 or 12 dollars under November rates. It's in complete stand still, neither growers nor buyers seem inclined to give way. Such a strain has never took place between them before & both seem determined to hold out. But a few months more must invariably bring one side or the other to business prices. The European market will ride all here, & a rise or fall there will have its effect here. Patt Browne of Gardames, who was at home by my time, got married to one of the Brownes of the Moore & came out here soon after, is himself & children about to start for home next April or May. His wife died of *small poc* about twelve months ago & left him with a young helpless family. Browne's brother-in-law Mathew Pender, I believe had _____ in Bail Grade at one time, left here for home last Jany. He has taken some cash home with him & I believe was not very particular hard it was got if caused he got at all. I with several other countrymen was staying in a Hotel with him at one time, where he made a clear attempt at the purse belonging to a Widow woman, a near neighbour & a most confidential _____ (as she thought) of his own. Through a pretended interest in her welfare & a false friendship he very high succeeded in robbing her of her Wool money, some 50,000 dollars. He sought change of a Bill from her that evening, his object was to find out where she kept it that night, & he entered her bed room. But *luckly* she happened to put it under her pillow in place of under the mattress where he saw her take it from. Not succeeding in his search under the mattress he proceeded with the pillow where the process disturbed her & she gave the alarm. The matter was quitted down till morning, when it was found he had cleared out before any one was up. Of course the thing spread like it should do, so much for the want of something more interesting to tell you, perhaps it's not amiss to know him in case he drop into your neighbourhood. Browne, his brother-in-law is very different kind of man. I have almost run out my space before telling you that we are all well & all friends well. Ellen & the children are very healthy & desire kind

love to all. They often speak of going to see uncle Martin & aunt Margaret & all the little cousins. My love to all, John.

P.S. Tell Mary Pender (the Hill), that James her brother is about to send for her in about a month time, & to hold herself in readiness. He is to send cash,
John

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 16 March 1873

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother and Friends,

I fear that my letters of late (being so frequent) have become to you more a nuisance than anything else. But same circumstance as another seems to turn up each month to induce me to drop you a line, though having nothing interesting to communicate to you, save the news of our good health. My principal object for writing to you now is that I want to send some cash home for others, and for different purposes. For this reason, I send you a bill for 30 £ to be disposed of in the following manner: 16 £ sixteen pounds for Mary Pender, Hill, James's sister, to enable her to pay her way out to this country. He was to write to her more particulars about it. To Fr Murphy, P.P. (Tagmond), 12 £ 15 s, with the enclosed note with instructions how he has to dispose of it. In his note I tell him to write ~~to you~~ and let you know where in Wexford you may leave the cash for him to receive it or, if you have an opportunity to send it to him by some person going to Tagmond. If Anne Flood (as we hear is coming out), if she is not about to come out to us, speak to Pender's sister to see if she comes. James is to mention it to her in his letter, but to leave her entirely to herself to choose coming out here or remaining in the City. The money to Fr Murphy is from Mary Evoy. Same for her father and the rest collected for the new Chapel of Tagmond. We are as I said before without receiving a letter from ~~home~~ any one from home by post this last six months. There must be the same screw loose either in Europe or in this country. As we don't know Fr Murphy the parish priest's name, I leave the enclosed for you to direct it, or if an opportunity offers you may be able to send, send by hand both the cash and itself together. The trifle that remain of 30 £ do what you like with it. I can't go this time either to Buenos Aires as I expected, so I hope to trust the business to others. It is likely I shall be in the City in a week or two from now. The man is waiting to take this to post it. I must conclude by expressing once more my love to you all. I remain your dear brother,
John

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 August 1873

Estancia Caldera

Rojas

Dear Brother Martin,

You will excuse me in not writing to you ere this. I did intend doing so last month, but circumstances prevented me doing so. Also, I was in much better spirits, as I am now suffering twelve days from a fearful pain in my back. Since I came to this country I have felt my back very delicate. Consequently, when I catch cold it invariably affects me in the back. You are previously aware that we are frequently annoyed by dry or bad winters in this neighbourhood, and I am sorry to inform you this one is no exception. I have had to move

nearly all the sheep I own. John also a good quantity, at least twelve thousand, have left the *Estancia* for Salto, where they have the consolation of favourable winters, with few exceptions every year. But for the work I had to arrange the sheep, and prepare them for the road and travelling with some of them, I would have written you sooner. I need not tell you how we felt on the receipt of your last letter, on hearing of our dear little sons progressing so well. I assure you I was rather surprised to hear of Nicky having so advanced in arithmetic, a state I am sure he could not arrive to with less than three or four years schooling in this unfortunate country. I am not surprised to hear of Johnny being backward in learning. He was always very stupid, and careless also, consequently indisposed to learn what he is required, unless a little severity is practised. Therefore, whatever you see is required, I expect you to take an absent brother's part, and I will feel obliged. I was very glad to hear you received the likeness all right. And as you remark, we all look pretty well. I am happy to inform you that none of us, I really believe, were flattered in the photographs. Mary looks well, is hale and healthy. I am, as you say, much stouter than ever I was, and thanks to God we all enjoy excellent health. The only thing I have got to complain of is the bad years or dry winters we invariably have in or experience in this neighbourhood, and all from a superabundance of pasture in summer, that they are not addicted to in other places. It would be better for us, had we to draw water for our flocks in summer time, as they have to do nearly all the country through, instead of basking in sunshine at our ease, to our individual disadvantage afterwards. Consequently, it's very doubtful whether I be in a position to perform my promise of seeing ye all as soon as I expected, but yet it's not impossible. I never received but one letter from Mr Mansfield, and that a long time since. It will not be long until I write to him again. Any person that would be writing to me directly, it's quite necessary to get same registered for the sole purpose of coming to hand, with more security, for you must be aware how backward in this country we are in regard of postal regulations. I think it costs only four pence extra. We were very sorry to hear of poor Joe Murphy's death. I imagined the passage home instead of hastening on his death would have been the means of preserving it for many years. God rest his soul. Give our kind regards to the remainder of the family, for which we sympathise very much. Our regards also to Nick Pierce and George Furlong. Mary and all the youngsters desire affectionately to be remembered to Johnny and Nicky, and to all the other members of your family circle, and be kind enough to accept the same from your dear brother,

Patt

P.S. Since I wrote the above I have scribbled the enclosed for George Furlong, which you will please deliver.

Patt

Enclosed note from John Murphy:

Dear Brother,

James Howlin, late of Ballyall has requested of me to get out his cousin, Patt Howlin, Miltown, by the first opportunity. I also require a couple of men for myself. When sending the other part of this letter to Thos. Royden & Son, you may communicate with them regarding the above passengers, to see if they can bring them out on your security and mine. At the same time, write to other agents about it also, and if any of them will bring them to send them by first possible sailing as we should like them to be here by shearing time, which commences in or about the first of October. After finding a ship to bring them, you may enclose them the remaining part of this note as an acknowledgement of me having given you the above instructions. If they could get out by the steamers, it would be much better as they would then be here in time for shearing. Write to the agents in Liverpool and you might also see the agent in Wexford if there be any, so as to have them out as quick as possible. I leave the choice of the two men to yourself, as you know by this time the class of men that best answer. Dear

brother, all friends are well, a blessing I hope you all enjoy at home. Let me know when you require any money, as I can at any time that I am in Buenos Aires send it to you. Adieu,
John Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 31 August 1873

Dear Brother,

Your letter bearing date July came to hand of the 9th Augst. & contained much interesting news. Much that we were glad to hear, and some that we would have been glad to hear differently of, but which will be found amongst all communities all the world over, and which the Law of Nature ordain it so. I was indeed glad to hear of Bessy's marriage. James I hope has laid a good foundation on which to build the future prospects of his remaining family, and I trust Bessy will always show that gratitude to him and those that were instrumental in procuring her a happy and independent home by her kindness to those she left behind. I am also glad to hear of you all going on so well, & that you have this year a prospect of good crop. Amongst the many things that I am sorry to hear is of Jas. Fortune, whose misfortune is more to be attributable to his own weakness than to any other circumstance. Some cannot control nor has not the strength to combat their own weakness. Consequently are floated away with the current of hope till suddenly cast ashore on the barren coast of despair and poverty, and only think of saving the bark when not a stick of her is to be found. Improvident, though sometimes good men, oftentimes, when too late find themselves in shallow water & has not the fortitude to pull against the stream. Another circumstance for which I would not say that I am extremely sorry ~~for~~ is the slight hope you entertain of being ever relieved of your own affliction. I saw two very bad causes of sore legs here, one with Brother Patt & the other with Mary Evoy. An English Doctor here prescribed the same for both, medicine to purge the system and drive all to the surface, & it had such a powerful effect upon Patt that he got frightened and ceased taking it from the fact of it having thrown out sore over his whole body & influenced his leg so fearfully that he dreaded being poisoned. It had the same effect on Mary. Both after having ceased to take it applied dock leaves heated against the fire & after a little time cured both most effectively. I will find you the Dr. prescription if I can get it & make a trial if you choose. This last three months we have been passing through a financial crisis and in the beginning very grave circumstances were apprehended. But it is expected the thing will pass over without many failures or any serious effect on the general business of the country. Money has been & is still very tight, and only procured by the best signatures at the rate of 18 to 24 per cent per annum. This last two weeks the market has been something easier, & best Bills can be done at 15 per cent, and for stocks at 12 per cent for 30 to 60 days. This tightness was caused here by a lot of land speculators who bought up lands along the lines of Railway & selling them off at immense profits. These parties draw on the Banks until several millions very swallowed in the business. The Banks, when almost too late formed their cash getting scarce stopped discounting, with the land fever cooling down. The speculation formed they could not sell, even for the price paid. And when their Bills of 30 or 60 days fell due failed to be able meet them. Since the rise in cash, the Government to relieve the public wants issued an Emission of paper which will relieve the tightness & enable the business men & merchants to proceed with their business. Another reason was that so much of the Wool of last season being held over in deposit till the late part of the season left merchants not able draw on their houses at home. Consequently the value of their wools not being in circulation bore heavily on the money market here. Many speculators in Wool who

bought in the first of the season at high prices, lost fearfully indeed. One company here, but a very wealthy one, bought largely at 80 dollars per 2 lbs & sold in Havre at 45 dollars. This company has lost some millions of pounds sterling for the season, but they are able bear it, & will buy largely the coming season. The Wool this last month has rose very much owing to the good news from Europe. My Wool at the time I shipped it was valued for 64 dollars per arroba (25 lbs.). It would get today in the ____ market about 76 dollars. Had I thought the rise would come so soon, I would not have shipped it as there is great risk of a loss by doing so. However, it may do well & many think it will. It will at least be a trial of the business. Dear Brother, in case Anne Flood don't come out to us, send us some other person, say a steady single Woman, or say a Widow, even if she has a child or two, providing they be the age of 8 or 10 years upwards. Or say a man & his Wife if they have none but grown children say from 10 years up. Boys or girls of 12 years up are useful in this country, & can always find *employments*. The man & Wife for their passage from L-pool to Bs. As. say £12 each, has to work collectively the both seven 7 months for their passage, or separately the man six & the Woman 8 months. Any other expenses they incur ~~they have~~ from the time they leave home till they reach here, they are accountable for, apart from the passage, & have to pay it in cash if they have it or otherwise work it in at the current Wages of the Country. I would prefer a steady girl or Woman if they could be got. It would be a fine chance for a Widow if she had hardly children of the ages above mentioned. Let me know by return of post if there be any such persons about, & if there be any that you think will answer send them on without waiting to hear further from me. John Wash (Main Street, Wexford) is a Director of the St. Patrick's Society formed here, & he can send out people at a reduced rate, which has been agreed on between the Society & the Lamport & Holt line of steamers. I have brought out within this last two months two men & their Wives. One I kept – one a month and the second ten days – & I find to have kept both too long. Any one but a Wexford person you cannot depend on scarcely one without a fault. I expect to start for Bs. Ayres on Monday next, from where I expect to dispatch this letter. I am going on the look out of buying a Ram or two for fine point, as I don't like the Ram I got from England. I have only two more of the four I kept, the other two I sold at £32 each. I will sell the other two at the price I get. I will leave the finishing of this tell in Bs. Ayres.

Bs. As., Septr. 5, 1873.

I start for home tomorrow. We are to hold some Races at the Estancia on next Monday. I take out the prizes with me, two saddles, bridle, whip & spurs. They are to be private Races for horses of the neighbourhood, for our own amusement, & to be followed by a dance that night. We are all well. I got the letters &c. by Kate Cormack, all right. Kind love to all & I remain your Dear Brother,
John

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 30 October 1873

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother Martin,

James Murphy's brother John requested me if I could get out some money for him, as he has tried several times and the letters have not arrived. I told him the safest way that could be done was by his brother handing over the amount to you, and I on receipt of the letters to that effect, would pass the sum to him and would save expense to both. He altogether approved of the plan and asked me to oblige him by having it done so consequently and receipt of this, in which you find enclosed a letter for James Murphy from his brother John, with instructions what to do. Hand it over to him and wait and notify me the steps he takes in the matter. 120 or

130 £ is the sum John requests him to send. Take whatever amount he offers you, but not less than 100 £, one hundred pounds, and give him a receipt for same. Do you keep 50 £, fifty pounds, and give James the balance that may be per account of this years sheep business here. I have finished my shearing in the 17th and sold the wool of this place five days ago at 70 dollars per arroba of 25 lbs. Price for stock and produce has not been as high this year as last, though we cannot complain. Fat sheep at from 45 to 50, and wool at the same for 70, free of all expenses is enumerating prices and pay the farmer well. I sold 2,000 fat sheep, but will have to sell sheep by the cut at March, as my increase exceeded the sales. Less than the 1/3 of the wool money of this place, along with what I have already in the bank from previous sales, will suffice to pay all of my debts once more. Of course, there are a good large accounts owed me here, but these accounts I let them stand as a dead letter in my calculations. I seldom include them in the accounts I give you. Therefore, I calculate after squaring up all and selling the Rojas' wool, that I may have at my command about 2,000 £ to put by for a beginning. As I intend going to Buenos Aires in a day or two, I shall leave the finishing of this till there. After reading Murphy's letter, close it, and send it to him. Buenos Aires, November 13th. Dear Brother, I start for home on tomorrow, having here five days. The price of wool remains low. I did well by selling outside. There is no particular news. Ronan, Kate Whitty's brother-in-law, is arrived out, and a daughter of James Watt's with him. We don't know who is the fair bride. All well love to all, and I remain your dear brother,
John

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 April 1874

Estancia Caldera

Rojas

Dear Brother Martin,

You will no doubt be a little surprised to learn that I did not write you ere this, having now I believe to acknowledge the receipt of at least two letters from you since I wrote, one by Kate Cormack and another since, the former containing the likenesses of the young lads, which came out first rate, and by their appearance it's evident that there is comfort and care bestowed on them in their new home. I cannot refrain longer in telling you we are all anxiety until we hear from you again, in consequence of receiving the other day a letter from Mr Mansfield, stating that all the children of the parish were knocked down with hooping cough, Nicholas and Johnny included. A son of his dead with that treacherous disease, but at the time of writing he imagined the worst of the case had passed over our two lads. Your care and attention to them in the hour of need has been truly appreciated, and should it please the Almighty to call them to a better world, ye may rest content that a censure or accusation will never be entertained against ye. On the contrary, be please to accept our heartfelt thanks for your parental kindness and protection. We had the pleasure of a visit from George Furlong about six weeks since. He is in good health, and is at present located in Uncalito with brother John. Simon Gaul also came to see us the other day, after his arrival back. From the latter account, I feel happy in congratulating you on the favourable turn the season have taken, and my sincere wish is that the may continue so for many years. But indeed I assure you the description George and you portray of the Old Country is not ever sprightly, and I am sorry to say not the least encouraging for any one to revisit it, except merely for the purpose of seeing their friends, and return again after a few months sojourn. I enclose the most part of envelope which enclosed Mr Mansfield's letter. You will deliver the same so that he can see the letter was never registered. But it's evident that the industrious people yonder know how to defraud the public, perhaps to [a] greater extent than they do here. Tell Mr Mansfield I send no answer

to his, as he promised to write again in five or six weeks in hope of having better news to record. We heartily sympathise with him in his affliction. You spoke of having traced a letter of mine as far as Wexford, but I never sent any one by hand. The way the affair must have occurred, I always for more security enclose my letter to a Mr Lett in Buenos Aires (a young man from near Enniscorthy), to post them for me. He having a brother in business in Dublin, so it's very probable he wrote his brother at that time and enclosed my letter also. We are busy this good while making preparations for the end of this month to send our two girls to College. The latter is situated in the town of Chivilcoy, about 25 leagues distant on the road to Buenos Aires, in charge of an Irish woman of excellent attainments. It will cost me yearly at least £ 40 each for board and education alone, rather stiff. This outlay will come very heavy on us yet, when it is known we are in debt for our little home yet. But even so the time has arrived that we should strain a point and sacrifice a portion of our comfort for the express purpose of making them fit members of society. We had a visit on the 25th ultimo of brother William and his whole family. He has lately purchased a splendid new family coach, capable of carrying with ease the whole troupe. They ~~are~~ were all in robust health when leaving here after spending three days with us. We are all in good health likewise, and sincerely hope this will find ye all enjoying the same blessing, thanks to God for all his favours. We all join in kind remembrance to ye all, without distinction, and I remain your dear brother,
Patt

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 20 May 1874

Liverpool

Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of 18 inst. and now enclose the circulars you ask for. Our low fare to Buenos Aires is £ 13, and we cannot take any passengers on the terms you name.

Yours faithfully,

Lamport & Holt

S. Henning

(with enclosures)

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 3 August 1874

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brother Martin,

Being in Bs. As. at the time your letter of 7th May arrived to this country, it was some time after before I received it, and also one from Father Reville of same date. I think now there may not be so much need of certifying your letters unless those containing matter of great importance, as I think the safety of letters are more looked to now than heretofore. How deservedly regretted must be the death of poor Bessy, and particularly to her family & friends. It was I may say a misfortune that must be long felt by her poor Father, being the tree on which he grafted the hopes and the future prospects of the rest of his Family. Such is the will of God, and may He have Mercy upon her soul. I think as O'Connor is so independent he may in consideration for the rest of the family return part of the fortune. It has been done by many much less independent than he, and I would look upon the act not as anything extraordinary generous for a rich man. Dear Brother, Since I last wrote you there has been another most brutal murder committed on the person of James Rochford, a well to do Wexfordman from _____ Wilsons of Sludagh. He was married about 20 months to the Widow of poor John Pitt,

had one child and was very comfortable and industrious. He was attacked in his house at night before bedtime. He had 24 wounds on his body, 14 of which were mortal. They did not molest the Wife nor child & it's a wonder. This is three Wexfordman murdered in Salto within these last six months, and all for the sake of plunder. Murders are also very frequent all through the camp, and even in the City, encouraged by the neglect of the Authorities taking any step to detect the criminals or punish them when they are taken. They are sent to prison without trial, from whence they are sure to escape after a little time more savage and more bloodthirsty than before. They are all well armed, and are going about in bandits of three or more and no one seem to know who they are unless from suspicion. But suspicion may be applied with just reason to most of the poor natives who have apparently nothing to live by unless plunder and robbery, and to effect that murder has frequently to be committed to save themselves. The Presidential Election has been more or less the cause of the present state of the country. There were no herd taken of crime, nor of anything but Law. Each party could effect either by fraud or bribery the success of their Candidate, and in many districts armed all the *ruffins* to obtain their object by knife and Revolver. We arrived out safe and all in good health. I did not expect to leave the City as soon as I ~~expected~~ did, but thought it better to come out soon and George wished it also on account of the unsafe state of the neighbourhood. I also wished to hurry out to get up a dipping concern for curing the scab in sheep, which many Estancieros has already tried and with success, Brother William one. It take an outlay of about \$50,000 dollars, and cost _____ tobacco &c. to make the wash about one dollar per head. But with all this it pays well as the losses heretofore from scab one could scarcely conceive an idea. Fencing in camp is now become a fever amongst Estancieros, who would ~~have~~ given great deal now to have commenced the work when I did, as it will cost them now about double for the material alone. It's only now Estancieros both Native and Foreign seem to appreciate and give due merit to the idea of us, who laid down the example for them which they at one time only laughed and ridiculed. The[y] find nothing less will do to protect life and property, and they find that it's only by fencing in their camps, particularly for cattle, that any thing can be made out of them. You may guess the feeling when a Wealthy Estanciero has just completed the fencing in of four square leagues of camp he has rented for a term of only eight years Lease, and no security whatever of a renewal of the Contract or that the owner of the land will allow him anything for the work in case of a separation. This work has cost him about £4,500, yet he expects & I am sure will make it pay, nay make a fortune by it. Dear Brother & Friends, I am extremely sorry that the news of the disunion that existed between Brother William's family and us has been conveyed to your knowledge. It is more than enough to have the painful recollections of it remain amongst us here and not to afflict our peaceable friends at home. I entreat and begged of William in one of my first letters, not to send it across the Atlantic, he having threatened to do so for motives which he erroneously believed he had a a serious charge to make against me to Father Reville. William's Wife Eliza being always and is still a great favourite with Father Reville, she & William sent home for many of the family who served them in return such as others never will, Ellen my Wife being one of the first that became her cook, servant & slave. Eliza was I believe always fraud & this pride being cherished by the indulgence of Father Reville, who showed her a dale of life both in Wexford & Dublin that she ever after considered herself superior to the rest of the family, whose education has been only that of respectable Farmers' daughters. When I got married to Ellen, and raised her from the cook house as Eliza said to a position which Eliza perhaps looked upon as above her own, Envy & jealousy soon began to appear, and Eliza did not conceal her feelings from _____ and story carriers who supplied her in return with _____ and falsehoods. She then commenced writing home not only to Father Reville but to some of her acquaintances about us, and up to that time both families always showed each other the letters they received from home, as we were requested to do so by Father Reville. But the answers to

her letters had she continued to show then would have told on her so she ceased to let us see them. But the other sister saw them and were much displeased at her and of course told us. Eliza must have had a thousand misgivings and a suspicious ~~of us~~ idea of us. But I thought William was innocent of any, till one day in Salto he opened me on with charges of me or Ellen having written letters underhand to Kate Cormack about them, and of me having said that he, William, struck Eliza in the face, and other things equally as false and as malicious. Of course I knew in an instant where these things originated. With Eliza, and in me referring to the letters she wrote to Father and other people who in the act of crushing him. I told him if Father Reville was here, and only know the manner that Eliza has acted towards her sister and us. I doubt not but he would be tempted to horse whip her. He then told me he would let me know by letter what I was. Consequently, a correspondence arose and in one of his letters he said he would write to Fr. Reville to know if he ever said in his letters to me that he would horsewhip Eliza. Requested him not to do the like, that Fr. Reville never said the like, nor I never said he did & to let the thing remain here. He wrote to Fr. Reville charging me with this most malicious falsehood. I then called on him to withdraw it. I did so twice, but my request was not heard. Consequently, I had to make a declaration of the whole affair to Fr. Reville, not that he needed it, but to prove my innocence of the charges laid against me. I did so on oath for I know William's hard, there was worth as much as mine. Now I feel my conscience perfectly at ease on this matter, and accuse myself of no crime, nor provocation of the unfortunate affair. I served them at an extraordinary sacrifice to myself and as no man ever served another, for which I never sought his thanks nor acknowledgement, contented with the pleasure it gave me to be in a position to assist him in keeping his present home, which I may without hesitation say that he never could have done without me. When he told me he would let Fr. Reville know what he imagined I said, I entreated him not to do so, and after he did so. I entreated him on two occasions to withdraw it, and that he could do so by simply saying he mistook my words and its meaning. But he thanked me with derision for my kind advice, hence my declaration on oath to Fr. Reville of the whole affair. And I _____ and how long since ceased to make any further advances on the matter. We are all well, and desire kind love to all friends and I remain your Dear and affectionate Brother, John.

August 3rd, 1874

In telling you of the affair between Wm. & us, I know poor Fr. Reville did so with the best intentions he had. Did every thing in his power to console us. Send me some papers once a month to see if they come safe now. I sent a letter and two views of my place _____ to you by a Friend named Florence Donovan. I hope you will get them. Our young son's name is John Clement.

J.J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 18 September 1874

Flor del Uncalito

Dear Brothers, Sisters & Friends

When in Bs. Ayres, not a month since, Margaret Pierce, Widow, late of the Barracks, spoke to me about sending for her brother-in-law, named Summers, and Family, but that she could only pay for the passage of one of them. And in order to get out the family altogether I undertook to pay for the others, they working in for me to the amount to pay. Mr. Brett has also sent to that neighbourhood for some boys recommended to him by Neil and Family, who has come out to him lately. It's likely all will be leaving there together as all are sent through the St. Patrick's Society, the passage of which is £10 each. Tell Summers that if any of his

children is over 12 years old and not exceeding 14, to give in their age at 11½ as children over 12 are full passage and those under 12 half passage, children infants on the breast free. Mrs. Pierce was to have sent him the shipping papers and may have done so before now. She may send some money to him also. My business to Bs. Ayres this time is the same as last for the purpose of bringing out material to put up a dip for curing scab in sheep. It is an undertaking that cost about \$50,000 dollars, and also cost about one dollar per head for the tobacco &c. to make the wash and pay for hands *employed* to do it. The cost and expense will seem high to one not accustomed to the losses we sustain by scab. I expect this year to loose more from this cause alone than the whole undertaking would have cost me. The same has to be complained of every where. Nearly I may say every second year, though it's the first with me since I wired in the camp, as since then I may say scab has not troubled me till now, unless in my fine point, in which all through my losses has been great as the animals are of much more value. The reason why all Estancieros has not after adopted the principal of curing is because it has not proved as yet with those that tried if entirely successful. The reason of which I think is more owing to the want of *practicle* knowledge of same to regulate the proper proportions of the mixture, or at the time of working, seeking more to get through the job than attending properly to the application of the cure. Several Estancieros has got up the dip and if some has failed in being able cure their sheep it must be from the fact of the mixture being not properly attended, as it has proven a success in many cases, whether from mere chance or otherwise I cannot say. I contracted early this season for 3,000 fat sheep to be parted on or before the 1st of *Octobre* next, but from the scab the way it has set in I don't think I could take it on my conscience to compel him to fulfil it, though the business is a legitimate one. Moreover, from the great losses of sheep this last year I find I can almost make as good a sale by disposing of them by the cut, that is, all as the walk big & little. I believe I mentioned to you on previous occasion that the losses this year in both sheep and black cattle are something extraordinary. It's considered the latter is fully ½ disappeared, of which I am safe in saying there is full 10 per cent dead. If the South as usual the greatest losses has appeared, some districts to the North and many to the West has also suffered serious losses. All through this partido the losses has been very trifling, though close to it in certain places there has been great losses from cattle dying with same disease unknown. On the Caldera, Rojas, there has been no losses to speak of those that are provided from scab. Patt has sold fat sheep but the others has not, and for why, because their flocks were not dipped & Patt were. One of the many examples of the advantages of dipping. Brother William made a good sale this year, also owing to having got up the dip last year, where it has also being successful. This like all other new improvements in the system of stock farming, the Native Estancieros has not adopted it and look on it with suspicion and distrust. I have on this place about 1,075 head of cattle all large with the exception of a few calves belonging to the Milk Cows. Of them I have not been able make any sales this Winter owing to their low condition, thanks that they have been through the bad season, as I had no losses whatever in them. The cattle this year went to a fabulous price, \$500 or \$600 each, and that for animals in condition scarcely fit to kill. But no better could be found. Butter ~~that~~ being the plentiful season other years, could not be got at less than \$30 dollars per lb., milk also in proportion dear. There is a fine property now for sale alongside 3½ square leagues of land and stock therein, but it's thought the same Family will be the purchasers as the sale is likely only made to regulate the claims of the Heirs. Were the public to be looked to as purchasers I should certainly be in for a part of it, even at a sacrifice, as yet it is not easily tell how the thing will come of. George has just arrived from Salto bringing me your letter of date 7th August, enclosing one for Peter Howlin. If we to hear of poor Margaret's illness, but I hope she is completely recovered. Let her take good care of herself. You nor she has no mind to expose yourself to the chance of bringing on complaints or sickness. I wish you not to do so, I have had attacks of same complaint also but I never let

it come to a head and never felt more than a pain in the right side in the region of the Liver and never had to apply more than the receipt, I send you to effect a cure. Take one of those pills lying down at night. If she find them too strange let her reduce them by cutting a little off them so as to produce one motion of the bowels each day. She will find them good. I will answer your letter some other time as I leave the rest of this to finish when in Bs. As. Bs. Ayres, September 18, 1874. Dear Brother, I have nothing to add to the above more than to say I send a few papers though not of much interest. I leave here tomorrow morning for Salto. I take with me all I came for. Great interest felt among Estancieros about the sale of the property along side me. It is not known how it will come off. My love to all and I remain your Dear & affectionate Brother,
John

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 29 November 1874

Estancia de la Caldera, Rojas

My dear Brother Martin,

Yours of August to hand in due course. We were very happy to learn they young lads were in good health, and able to attend School, and progressing so well to your satisfaction and ours. Also, the first account of their perfect recovery, which was very consoling indeed, I received in a letter from Mr. Mansfield of June last, the very flattering notice that each of you give regarding their advancement in Education is really, I assure you, something to feel proud of for their time at school. It also impresses on my mind the conviction, that a short time more may suffice to complete their education, at least an ordinary one, such as we received ourselves. I did intend to answer your letter sooner, at least early in November, but I suppose you are already aware of a revolution breaking out in our midst on the 24th September last, which paralyses in a great measure all sorts of businesses. Even the Mail Cars stopped running for some time, unless on Government acct., even up to the present Government authorities can with impunity intercept and open all correspondence arriving from the Country districts. I would not attempt writing you now, but a favourable opportunity offers, a particular friend of mine going to Buenos Ayres, by whom I entrust this epistle. We feel as yet (thanks to God) no bad effects of the Revolution, more than the inconvenience of loosing a few of Horses. The operations of the opposing armies are chiefly directed to the south of this province, consequently our locality remains yet undisturbed, but for what length of time it's impossible to guess. The majority of people think the War won't continue long, may God grant it, and protection to us all, to pass the ordeal in safety. I consider an internal War, one of the worst plagues that can visit any Country. I hope in my next I will be able give you a more pleasing picture of this unfortunate Country. We were all sadly surprised at hearing of poor Bessy's death, but the ways of Providence are always mysterious, consequently we can't tell the day or hour our own turn may come. We sincerely sympathise in Brother James's bereavement and pray the Lord to have mercy on her Soul. I hope Sister Margaret continues to enjoy good health, though not having previous to the arrival of your letter an ____ of her indisposition, We feel extremely proud in thanking God for, and congratulating her, on her recovery. You speak of a Letter written to us by Nicholas, which never came to hand unless you might confuse it, with a few Copy lines sent me by Mr. Mansfield of Nicky & Johnny's writing. The writing is very good for the time, but he tells me their reading & writing is not keeping up to their advancement in Arithmetic. But in all cases I feel perfectly satisfied. Mr. Ballesty intends going to Ireland again about next May, with more of his family. It's not unlikely but he may pay you a visit on this occasion also, but I don't know yet. We are all in good health and desire kind regards to all. I remain your dear Brother,

Patt Murphy

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1 January 1875

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother Martin,

Your very kind and welcome letter of October 28th duly came to hand and also two 'People' papers some days later. We were extremely glad to hear that all friends are well, with the exception of poor sister Margaret. No circumstance whatsoever important could have caused me more pain than to hear of those frequent attacks on my dear loving sister. I trust in the sincerity of what you say in your letter, that she will soon be perfectly recovered. I hope and trust she will give no cause for a relapse of this complaint, but will avoid in every manner those works or exposures that may lead to it. Dear Friends, You will be glad to hear that the Mitre Revolution, after a duration of 2½ months, is crushed and the revolutionaries completely annihilated. The party who placed Mitre at the head of the affair completely abandoned him when he took the field. He had the sympathy of all foreigners, but they could do nothing for him. The committee of his party, when they launched him on to it, neither sent him money for arms, and had his party been liberal with him, the case would likely be different to what it now is, as he was very popular. But peace for this country is more beneficial even though Government may have obtained power through fraud and corruption, and of both evils I consider it the least. Mitre gave himself up with all his army. Himself and chief officers now to be tried by Court Martial, but it's thought the sentence passed on them will be light, as Mitre's services to the country exceed that of all other, both as a Diplomatist never doubted not even by his enemies. The Revolution, though interfering with the shearing, did not affect the sales of wool. All that wished could have sold at good prices, say from 65 up to 75 dollars per arroba of 25 lbs., according to class and condition delivered at the house, which is equal to 75 to 85 delivered in Buenos Aires from here. It is not so high just now, as the prices have fallen in consequence of buyers having in many cases filled their present orders. Many who contracted for fat sheep to be ported before shearing could not fulfil their obligation, as driving troops of cattle or sheep to Buenos Aires during the Revolution was very unsafe. The man that contracted for 3,000 with me took more, but I made a sale by the cut at 4,000 head, which I consider better business, as the difference of the price was only 5 dollars each = 50 dollars per piece = 45 per the cut. I have reduced my stock of sheep on Uncalito to about 10,000 head, and put any cattle to about 1,100 head. I sold and delivered a few days ago 280 head, 180 bullocks at 350 \$ dollars each, plus 100 cows at 300 \$ each. These cost me last April 165 dollars each one. With the other, they cost me nothing since but the run of the camp. Buenos Aires, January 8, 1875. Dear Brother, Enclosed you [will] find a note to Fr Reville, which you will close and forward it to him. Also, one for James with two bank bills in his favour, one for 24 £ to be delivered to William Pettit, Rathmoore, the other for 180 £, 100 £ of which is for James himself, 50 £ for you and sister Margaret, 15 £ each for John Pitt and the widow Margaret Pitt, being sent to them by their sisters, the two Tom Pitts of Rojas. I send the 50 £ to you and Margaret as a New Year gift, also wishing you all the blessings of this Holy Season. I remain dear brother and sister your affectionate brother, John. P.S. Father John £ Furlong wrote to me last May a very supplicating letter asking for some help to pay off the debt on the Enniscorthy Cathedral. I send him 10 £ myself but collected nothing on his card. J. J. M.

Alice Breen to Martin Murphy, 14 February 1876

Annacurra

My Dear Martin,

A few days ago I had a note from Bessie in which she told me that you are again laid up with your leg. I am sorry to know this, and I wish to let you know that I have lately heard of one man who lives near ~~Onlard~~ Onlard John has made extraordinary cures of survey. He is a very old man, a farmer named Finn, who lives on a place called. I cannot think of the name, not far from Onlard. He makes no charges and I am told he can tell after ____ trial of the medicine whether a cure will be effected. I would recommend you to go to him and have his opinion. It can do no harm, and may perhaps effect _____. How is Margaret? I hope she is well. I have heard of Mary Furlong's wedding and heard too Matt Evoy is _____ to be married also. I hope they have got good settlements and that they may turn out satisfactorily. Again I would advise you to go to this man and have his opinion. It is only a day's journey. You would drive early to Wexford and take a car there, as it would be too far to drive your own Horse and the post car does not leave Wexford until 3 o'clock, which would not send you. Perhaps this may be the man that will cure you after all. Hoping that this may be the _____ and with kind regards to Margaret I remain my Dear Martin yours affectionately,

Alice Breen

I cannot remember the name of the place where him lives, but it is about 1½ miles from Onlard, so you will be able to make it out if you think well of going see him. A.B.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 12 March 1876

Pass the 12 £ to William Roche and the enclosed note from his son James.

Flor del Uncalito

My Dear Brother Martin,

I have been putting off writing to you from time to time expecting I would be able [to] inform you of having disposed of Uncalito on lease for a term of five years. But the business is hanging on so long that I shall not wait longer, and as James Roche requests me to send a trifle of money to his father William of Kilrane, that I shall this time drop you a line or two only to say that I will write at a greater length very soon. I trust the money I sent last December reached you safe. I thought from the fact of John Connor living so long with you that I had got a treasure in his coming to me. I find him a very different to what I expected, and [one] of the fondest men of grog I know. And when he get the chance will drink till he is much the worse of it. Since he came here I have shown him great indulgence on account of his many years in the family, and his age to boot. There was one passage in the letter you sent by him that drew my attention. J. C. I think he will answer you, if he stops with you he may improve. All this month past has been very busy with arranging flocks for the year, and dipping for the scab. I have three flocks outside the wire on the new purchase. All the rest is rented. I will rent it all so soon as matters suit. I have four puestos or stations rented at 12,000 \$ dollars each per year, and four more at 10,000 \$ each. This rent will frighten Nick and James. All Friends are well. I shall write soon again. I cannot send more in this. Ellen joins [me] in sending love to Margaret, James and all the chicks. Accept yourself the same, your dear brother,

John

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 10 March 1876

Estancia La Caldera

Rojas

My dear Brother Martin,

I will not be surprised if you consider me very ungrateful in not writing for such a long time. I should at least have done so on the arrival of John Connor, were it only to acknowledge and thank ye for the beautiful presents sent us. But the very flattering account he gave of the progress of the young lads and how contented and happy they were under your guidance and protection. Feeling confident that Mr Ballesty would pay you a visit, I delayed writing until I should see him, and even after his arrival the delay was extended until the present. But not I assure you through any kind of coolness or disrespect, no doubt but since that time it was and always is the busiest time of the year, but even so such an apology is insufficient to lessen the offence I have been guilty of. But a promise to be more punctual in future will I hope obtain your forgiveness for the past. Mr Ballesty, being a near neighbour of mine, I am very happy to hear you gave him and Mrs such a kind reception. It must have been a kind one, otherwise he could not be so enthusiastic in your praise. In fact, he is altogether in love with Wexford, for I have heard him tell some of his county men that it's fifty years in advance of Westmeath. The two boys are now about four years with you, consequently you must consider me a very curious individual that never sent you a remittance large or small during all that time. I would have sent a trifle by Ballesty last year, but previous to doing so I consulted brother John, who told me he did not think it necessary. So it's probable he knew my financial position at the time, perhaps better than I did myself. But as John's promise of support expired after the two first years, consequently it's evident after that term that I must try and reimburse you at least for the expense and trouble you must have had with them. But you will, I hope, excuse me for a little while longer. As to the boys, I would like your advice as to their future education, as between you and brother James, I am sure you are capable of forming an opinion on the subject, whether a higher school would be advisable or not at present, as it's very probable, according to my present circumstances, that I will not visit ye inside of two years. I hear of no complaints or illness amongst any of our friends here. We all, thanks to God, enjoy excellent health, and I sincerely hope the same blessing richly enjoyed by yourselves, and with kind regards to all friends I conclude dear brother, yours affectionately,

Patt

P.S. Enclosed is a letter from Katie.

Catherine E. Murphy to Nick and Johnny Murphy, 10 March 1876

Caldera

My dear Brothers,

I received your kind letters, also the nice prayer-books, of which we were very proud and thankful. Your letter gave me great pleasure in hearing ye were well, Uncle Martin and Aunt Maggie included, and that ye were so happy and contented with our dear little cousins. Dear Nicholas, I was in Chivilcoy when your letter arrived here, and Papa did not wish to send it to me for fear of it getting lost. So when I came home I got it to my great joy. I only wish you would write oftener. I am very glad to hear that you are getting on so well, and Johnny also. Annie is going to Buenos Aires to school in April. I am not sure whether I will be going or not yet. Dear brothers, the examinations were held in December in the school that I was in for three days. I came out very well. I would have been crowned only for I let another girl pass me in Arithmetic, but I gained a lot of prizes. I also came out very well in Spanish. They also made me parse in Spanish, and I came out well. I worked a beautiful picture nearly as big as a child three years old, representing a little girl sitting on a bank of moss, playing with a little

gray dog; also a cushion, a sampler, and a watchcase. The little girl's dress seems to be of red velvet. I don't know, dear brothers, when will ye have the chance of seeing it or me. I would give anything to see one sight of Uncle Martin, Aunt Margaret or your teacher. Dear Johnny, don't forget but write to me also. I will be waiting for it. Papa is also writing. All join me in kind love to Uncle, Aunt and all cousins, not forgetting yourselves and also Uncle James. I remain your ever most affectionate sister,
Catherine E. Murphy

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 26 May 1876

Mr Martin Murphy
Haysland, Tagoat
Co. Wexford, Ireland
Liverpool

We have received your letter of 25th instant, enclosing first half of a ten pound note on ccount of a steerage passage for John Furlong per 'Hevelius' for Buenos Aires. The passenger will have to be at our office on the afternoon of the 2nd June.
Encl.

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 29 May 1876

Liverpool

Dear Sir,

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your remittance of half note for 10-0-0 in payment a/c of J. Furlong's passage money per 'Hevelius'

Yours respectfully,

Lamport & Holt

per W. Yevons

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 28 June 1876

Liverpool

Sir,

We now enclose P. O. Order for 13 s, being amount of commission on John Furlong's passage per 'Hevelius.' In future, you can deduct your commission of five per cent when remitting us the passage money.

Yours faithfully,

Lamport & Holt

per J. Eveleigh

2 Encls. P. O. Order, Circular

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 4 April 1877

San Martin, Salto, Buenos Ayres

Dear Brother Martin,

I write you this in hopes that it may arrive before us. We leave here to day for the city to ship "Hevelius" of Lamport & Holt for dear old England. I wrote you a letter in November last, enclosing a note for James Murphy but I fear it has gone astray as I had one from poor Father Reville dated February 22 saying Margaret had been speaking to him and that you were laid up with your leg. Since Father Reville's letter of July 22, one has arrived to a neighbour the 26th July, saying that the good old man Father Reville died after one days illness on the 24th July. We are yet in hopes these may be some mistake, as he has brothers much older and we may yet arriving Buenos Ayres have an account to certify the ditto. He even mentioned in the last of his letters saying "may ____ is not worse", but little he then thought if it be him that next day would find him on his death bed. We were all in great spirits expecting to meet all fine but this sad news has fallen hard on Eliza, for to her he was the dearest and best of Uncles. More than her Father been, for he made her the pioneer to her family. However, my dear brother, it's only another instance of the vagueness of this life, how soon we ~~soon we~~ see the objects which we are about to embrace vanish from before us letting us see that time is on the wing and that we should make good use of it. We take all the chicks with us ____ from 1½ years up to 12. Besides, we take Peter's little girl, now 2 years. He was anxious to send her home to his sister & mother. Mary, Patt's Mrs., was caring her up to this. Some few more from the Barony Forth are going, and only for exchange being so unfavourable many more would. Things have changed very much these last years in this country, making camp life not an ever pleasant one. We have had three years in succession not to say good, but this season looks encouraging. I wrote poor Father Reville the day before we got the account of his death, telling him to let you know that we were on the move for Ireland. It's not likely his letter will be opened or that you will hear of us going unless by this. We leave Buenos Ayres on the 9th inst. and with God's helping will be there about middle of May. 20 years the 12th inst. I left here to see you last time. How changed all since then. Many have gone to their long home. How different myself, now with a large family to take care of. George Furlong had a letter. It said James was complaining. I hope he is quite well ere this, and that you all will be enjoying the blessing of good health is the wish of your dear brother,
William Murphy

P.S. I think that my letter of November may have reached you ere this, and for that reason I ____ myself to the above short note until we see you.

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 29 October 1877

Estancia del Caldera

Dear Brother,

Your letter of 20th ultimo I received only yesterday through Brother John, so the time from now until the date that you say William is likely to leave is very short indeed, and it's very doubtful if this will reach you in time if William really starts on that date. However, I will chance it and consequently you must be satisfied with a very short letter. I forward this through B. John, as the quickest mode of dispatch, with instructions also to send you £ 100 pounds, that you may, as I know you will be pleased to put the two boys in college for at least one year. We are all in perfect health thanks to God, and desire kind regards to all. I remain your dear brother,
Patt

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 20 November 1877

Liverpool

In reply to your letter of 16th instant, we can take your two steerage passengers per Hevelius. They will have to go on board at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 1st proximo. You can send luggage addressed to our warehouse, Crewood Chambers, 17 Brunswick Street, and it will be sent on board.

L&H

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 28 November 1877

Liverpool

We have received your letter of 27th instant. Please send us the names and ages of the passengers by return of post. The steerage passengers will go on board at eleven o'clock on Saturday morning, so they had better call at our office for their tickets not later than 10 o'clock.

L&H

Eliza Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1 December 1877

Liverpool

Dear Martin,

We left Dublin last night Friday, had a nice passage across. We old sailors were not sick, but all the young sailors were sick. ____ is pretty lovely today. I was very sorry that Margaret did not come back from the Station and stop the night and see Nick. She must have been very much troubled at not seeing him. They should have stopped at the railway station as William told them. He would have gone or sent W. Breen to meet them then. When they went to the boat there was no one to meet them either, and they were standing about in the cold until W. Breen went to them. William had to go to the two schools with the children so he sent W. Breen to meet them. However we are all right now although W. Breen ran away with the other passengers this morning without saying a word to William and leaving their luggage behind them. I hope Margaret got safe home and many thanks for your good wishes. I am sure we cannot forget your kindness to us. No brother or sister could have been kinder than you have been or endured more annoyance than we gave you, and I think if it is ever my lot to come to Ireland again I will never leave it for I would not wish to go through as much leave taking again. I had a splitting headache last night after fretting so much all day. The poor children must feel our leaving them very much, but please God we will all meet again. With fond love to Margaret, to Jeremy, and all the children and accept a double portion yourself from your loving sister,

Eliza Murphy.

Dear Martin,

I have just been to Lamport & Holt, and I have paid for 5 (five) 3rd class passengers, but I could get no allowance out of them. They saw I was hurried so I had to pay at the rate of £12 each, that is for the five, £60. It would be an injustice you sending your nearest friends should they not allow you. I told them they should make it good to you, which they will allow but you must apply for it. Yours,

Will

Write at once for the companion.

Clemmie's boat [child's drawing in pencil]

Poor Anne is fretting away.

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 7 January 1878

Dear Brother & Sister,

I received your letters in Dublin telling me that you had ____ the little stone over my poor little boy Nicky, and how glad I am that you were ____ with it and thought it suitable. I have nothing to choose from but I think it most answerable I never think of the poor little fellows but I have to shed tears for I really think we should have done more for him than we did. However these is no use in giving in to such thankful ____, for the little fellow is happier than we could have hoped to make him. Doyle my brother-in-law is here. I had a letter from _____. All is going on well. The poor old man is compelled to use two sticks now to assist him. The camps are splendid. ____ forward the children the other letter to let them see that we are here safe. I ____ will you ____ do have been only too happy to do as my English friend ____ I thank you all the same I had plenty for my wants and same to spare. Eliza wrote you from Lisbon. I hope the letter reached you, as they may have given you more particulars than I go into. I am sure that Anne oftentimes wished herself in Haysland. Nicky does not look so much as when he left you, but quite well in health. From where we are we have but a bad view of the city. We consciously look forward to Sunday to ____ us from this miserable stand still life, worse by far than crossing the ocean. We see occasionally a Standard. Wool I see keep a good price. Gold is yet dear. Alsina, the head of a party of that name, ended his life with the old year. Like most men his greatness will be only seen when he is gone. Clement is improving feeding well, but yet the eye troubles him. It is the one that was bad with him yonder to the first, that is well. Lizzie is fat and well, always on foot. ____ about, and generally to be seen eating first as she has made many friends on ship. I have got no word from outside, but many before I post this which will be when I arrive on terra firma. January 6th. We arrived today after much taking about between the ship and shore. We are all well, and I received word from outside that all are well. With kindest love from Eliza and Lizzie & Clemmie to you both, and wishing you both every happiness, is the wish of your Dear Brother,
William

With best regards to all friends I remain Dear Brother yours as ever,
William

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 19 January 1878

Buenos Ayres, Calle Parque N° 587

My Dear Brother Martin,

Your kind letter of November 19 duly came to hand on 26th December, a few days previous to Brother William arriving to the Plate. Having him detained in quarantine for a few days, they landed on the 6th, the last of the Christmas Holidays, and left for the camp the Thursday following without us seeing any of them, nor even knowing that W. Breen had come. Anne

Flood was shown the way to us but not till after she had engaged to go out to Salto with Robert & Mrs. Doyle on very unfavourable terms for the poor girl. Anne endeavoured all she could to get some one to show her up to see us before she engaged but to no purpose. R. Doyle, who is married to Ellen's sister, who saw Anne nearly every day, both know where we lived. The two girls of the Cormacks also William and family were stopping 100 yards from E. Casey's office, who could have told them if they did not know, and others, but the object seemed to be not to let her see me till after she agreed to go to the camp with Mrs. Doyle. Then she brought her up to the evening before they started, too late of course for me to give her any advise, merely telling her that she could always count on us or her friends and that I was sorry I did not see her sooner. I don't know if I am mistaken or not in my impressions as to Anne Flood. I feel as if she is entitled to our best consideration, for the many years she spent amongst our Family, having assisted till the last our poor Sister Bess, and nursed her baby from its infancy. And I suppose she left Haysland regarded almost as one of the Family. If so, she deserved better of our Family after arriving out here. She cried and wept bitterly because of having to go to the camp, and also at not being able see us before she engaged to go. She is not likely to stop long. Carr, Erwin & Furlong had left for the camp before we knew they had landed. Miss Cooney, who arrived a few days after them, was here to see us. She look well poor thing. We never breathed a _____ about her misfortune, but we find that most of the Wexford girls about has the news, and of course will soon spread about. Your suggestion in your letter in reference to us going to see William when he land here was prompted by ~~you~~ feeling of Charity and Brotherly Love. You know how for I would go, and to what extremes I would strive a point to comply with a request of yours, but in this, of all other things I feel unable to comply, I need not trouble you with the History of the Case, nor my reasons for refusing you. But they are such if you only know them sufficiently you would not desire me ungenerous either towards you or them. My conscience is quite at ease on the matter, but regret exceedingly by the temporal influences that such a state of things being about in a Family. Dear Brother, I am now busy in collecting the material together to Wire in the Camp at Rojas, the Caldera, and expect to be ready to commence the work about the first of March. Next, I have just got it surveyed, which operation cost me about £100. I am now proceeding against Michael Quinn to recover the old debt of \$5,000, and the costs in Whitty's case. The business of the _____ Camp is still before the Courts, which has only a few days opened after the Summer vacation of over one month. I am _____ on the Case to see and get through with it against the season arrive for leaving this country. Whitty's Case need now not detain me longer, since the project I sent you in a previous letter I have been considering how difficult it may be for you to find a place to suit, as most places of the size I mentioned are in possession of owner or others. And it's only by a chance that a place of the size we need before of encumbrance for you to go live to. Consequently, it may be a long time before a place offer that will suit you. I know nothing of what business the Encumbered Established Court is doing of late years, as I got a sight of no English papers since I came to Bs. Ayres, not even the People. I had written this for with a _____ of sending this by mail of the 20th, but having got a call to Mercedes on business caused me to postpone it till this date. Bs. As., January 31st, 1878. Yours of 19th December to hand on 24th, by which I am glad to see first that all are well and secondly that you got the draft and cost all right. It is likely by this time you will have received another draft for a small amount £20. All I may say for charitable purposes I have taken steps to recover \$5,000 from Quinn, but if what I have done fail I will proceed no farther. I will not proceed for costs. I will tell J. Cullen if he choose to do so, I will give him a power on Lar Whitty's account. But I am sure it will drop at that. I expected to hear from Lar Whitty what I am to do with the balance of his part. Let me know soon. In turning again to the subject of my project, I would be glad that you propose if you think of any other means better suited than my project to secure to you something ~~secure~~ safe to keep you

independent during yours and Margaret's life, as it may be a long time before my project can be realised. Now perhaps a thing to suit might no turn up for sale by your nor my time, therefore if you see any other mode of carrying out those my wishes let me know and it shall be done. Brother Patt say James Pender is going home. George Furlong is leaving San Martin, but I don't know if for home. I believe I told in a previous letter that Mary Evoy is left us. It is a very bad time just now for leaving this country, paper money is at such discount. The Government since the reconciliation movement has gained general confidence and the political _____ seem more clear. The country in general is recovering fast from the effects of the late crisis. Camp business splendid, all Friends well. Joy and Happiness to you all is the wish of your friends here, and of your affectionate Brother,
John
I send papers, J.J.M.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 11 March 1878

Bs. Ayres, Calle Parque 587

My Dear Brother Martin,

Yours of January 31st enclosing one from James February 1st duly came to hand, and am glad to see that all Friends are well, and that the cash I sent each time has been duly received and disposed of entirely to my satisfaction. As I have to answer James' letter also, it leaves me little to say in this to you, as all matters referring to James business here will be in his letter and of course open to you to partake of whatever interest you may take in knowing its contents. I had a letter from Brother Patt a few days since. He tell me that William Breene has entered into James Pender's puesto, interested in the flock that James's sheep is in. I hope he may do well. He has a good chance, if not his own fault. It is most unfavourable time for sending home money from this Country, and James & Whitty must be prepared to loose merely 1/3 by the rate of exchange and gold to day. It may be a little more favourable or unfavourable by the 14th, when I intend to take out the Bill to send by the Mail of 15th. The £ sterling to day is 157 dollars. Two years ago it was only 125 dollars. So you see the difference. Of course James instructions has limited me to time. Consequently, I can not *especulate* on the chance of holding on in the expectation of rates being more favourable, but this either I could not do as the wisest men in the market are blind to future, and some has lost fortunes in a few days because of having considered themselves more clever and far seeing than other people. Consequently, I am glad that James has left me no choice but to send his cash by first mail in order that it reach there by the 1st of May next. I have adopted your suggestion as to disposing of James's sheep, and have wrote out to Patt for his opinion as to the price and the general terms which I proposed as the base of our settlement. Having written at extreme length in my previous letters have me nothing to add to what I said regarding the buying a place, or you suggesting to me some other means of doing for you. I hold back some of Whitty's money, as there is still some Notaries & Attorneys ~~still~~ pretending claims against the property for their costs, which claims (though just) I object to accept on the plea that they have to proceed against M. Quinn for all costs, which he is obliged to pay according to the sentence of the Courts. This question is still open, hence my object for holding one part of the cash. James Pender I am told is going Home. He has did pretty well for his time with me. In Camp business the discount on paper and the premium on Gold do not affect it so much as other, as of course they get more paper dollars for their produce now than they could expect if Gold was at a lower rate than it is, that is if paper money was at the old rate of 125 dollars to £ sterling. Wool would be selling at about \$60, and sheep that is now selling at 40 would only being about 30 or 35 dollars each, hence the former lose little by the rise or fall in Gold. The

fluctuation of it from one day to the other is the greatest drawback and cause an unsteadiness in the market. I sent you papers by last Mail, in which you can see the increase in our families out here. We are all progressing favourably, thanks God. There is none can judge, nor has a better right to know than James, whether he ought to sell Ballyconnor or not, and even though I were disposed to offer an opinion on the subject, his decided determination should have prevented me from offering any, as I think he could better than any other arrive at a wise, and most likely the best conclusion for his Family's good and future happiness. The Lawsuit about the Pacheco land is now soon to be settled. The Pachecos, rather than risk the expense and the chance of it proceeding through the Tribunals, has proposed to us to leave the deciding the Case to some well known Lawyer approved of by both sides. This we have accepted, so the Case will soon be settled one way or the other, as there is no appeal. This has been and continue to be the rainiest season we have had here for many years, all through the summer. The Langostas has also left the Camps delightfully hard in all the partidos around about Salto, and from the late rains these are sure to be the best camps all through the winter. March 14th, I enclose you the First of Exchange for one hundred and sixty five pounds sterling, £165. This draft cost in paper money 156 $\frac{3}{4}$ to the £ sterling, wherein the draft last November cost only 146 per £ sterling, so you see from the sum sent in paper money this draft should have been over 177 £ sterling according to the rate of exchange last November. The costs in this case is still hanging back and it's not easy say yet whether it's me or M. Quinn will finally have to pay them. If I can get out of paying them it will through about \$10,000 in Whitty's and Cullen's share, which will be sent them as soon as decided. James's bill go in his own letter. I will send the two second of exchange soon after. \$25,882 dollars at foot of bill is the amount of paper money paid for it. I had it inserted these for Whitty's satisfaction. James's bill amount to £214-10s all told. I have paid him 40 dollars each for his sheep. I charge him at the same rate as I charge Patt, 10% per annum in case he choose to redeem them. At this interest they will clear themselves in about 7 years according to the past five years. All join me in sending kind love to all. I will send second of Exchange by Mail of 20th for fear of disappointment to James. I remain your affectionate Brother,
John

I send a paper also,
J.J.M.

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 20 April 1878

Buenos Ayres

Dear Brother Martin,

I am now in receipt of yours of 30th November and 19th December 1877, which I would have answered sooner, but expecting since their receipt that I would be in the City much sooner to put Nicky in College, but being afraid of the yellow fever coming here, as it has been for some time raging in Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo, the latter place very near with daily communication, the weather has become much cooler consequently the epidemic is on the decline thanks to God. I hope you have ere this arranged with Mansfield and you are perfectly justified in being hard with him. I never imagined he would act so as to disrespect you so much, by trying to forward his Bill by William without consulting you previously. I have brought Nicky in to place him in College for some time. I will miss him very much, as for the little time he was outside I felt perfectly well the assistance he can afford me, even at the present time. But that comfort I must sacrifice to his advancement for at least one year. There is nothing he regrets more than not having the comfort of thanking and bidding adieu to his

Aunt Margaret, to whom he particularly sends his kindest love. Johnny I hope won't feel lonesome after their separation, and your care and attention for such a long time, and I think he will if inclined progress just as well at St. Peter's as any where else, as I think the difference between such institutions must be of little importance. Your remarks regarding the £100 was altogether unnecessary for I consider ere this, you have much more than compensated me for the small trifle, and had I been in a position to do so earlier it would not have been trusting to that. Katie is in town with me also. I thought to make Nicky & she write also, but the time was rather short. Consequently they have deferred to a future day. They have got their figure heads taken but could not get one finished to accompany this. But you may expect them by first opportunity. I send you three cards of the rest of the family. As Johnny Pender & Larry Neill are starting for the Old Country to day, in case I see them previous to embarking perhaps I may send them by some one of them. Last year thanks to God was for me a most favourable one, and this up to the present has every appearance of being the same. I think the scale of luck has at last turned in my favor. The only annoyance we have had was a visit of Locusts for the four past years, which is a plague beyond comparison. They leave behind them nothing green, not even the leaves of trees, but they even eat the bark also. Consequently, though having splendid trees we have been without fruit for that period. Nicky has brought me an account of Bes Murphy's Ass being on dying, so I think a few shillings would be a great charity to assist her over her difficulty, and the regret she must feel over the loss of her donkey. Will you please give her ten shillings on my account? We are staying at Brother John's. He is coming out with us for a few days on our return to the Camp. I think he also intends very soon to pay ye a visit also. I received Brother James's letter also, and I am glad to hear since how the business has been arranged regarding his sheep, and he may rest assured that I will spare no trouble that lies in my power for his benefit, so that in short the sheep may return to him again. Promised my visit this year to see you. Must remain unfilled as the saying is man appoints but God disappoints. But yet I don't nor can't forget the happiness it will afford me when the time arrives. They girls send many thanks to Aunt Margaret for her presents. I enclose the likenesses in this and with kind regards to all I remain your dear Brother,
Patt

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 21 May 1878

San Martin, Salto

Dear Martin, the enclosed I found lying in a corner of the drawer of my box. I send it thinking that Willie in case he goes to Haysland, may want some little things which Father Barry may not be aware of. Father Barry say he is not ruddy or so fresh as he would wish. Neither is Katie, but I think the change to Dalkey in vacation will serve Katie very much. Maggie is as usual, looking very well. I am looking out any mail for your letter, as it's time I should have heard from you. I got a long letter from Tom Fortune. Then the season was very mild and farming operations very forward. What a contrast to last year! The winter is just set in, with ~~us~~ very severe frosts owing to the overstock of grass in the [camp] not being consumed, it has prevented the winter grass from growing, leaving us short of feed in many places. I have had to move one flock. I may be able hold on the others, but much depend on the weather. John O'Connor passed a night here. He was out to attend a land auction a few leagues from here. I went with him and we met John there. Patt had promised to attend but failed to put in an appearance. Private. Patt has given me to understand that with fair reasons he expect to make something handsome out of his contract with John. Nicky and Annie stood for our little one Mary Margaret. On Calm Sunday Nicky passed to the City and I believe entered Richard

Lett's school. Clemmie is very much improved in appearance. His eye has a speck on it scarcely *discernable*. We have not yet got the Dr. opinion on it. He often come over you and Mary ____ Mama. Lizzie is as well and healthy as usual, and growing very much. She would willingly start for Ireland again. Since I came home I've been making alterations on the house. The center part you will understand was the old house, which I did not alter when building the wings. The roof was failing, so I took it off ____ the walls up higher, and made an upstairs with two windows to front. I received a People from Mr. Walsh. I see he has resigned the Vice-Chairmanship. He was the most abused man I know for all his trouble and attention. It's now to be seen who will take his place. This Country is much the same as usual. We have got a new governor, of whom great things are expected. He seems about to make some reforms through the Camp, which are badly needed. Murders continue to occur as usual, an also robberies. I had a letter from John the other day. He is speaking of leaving here early next month for the old Country. I hope he may meet a finer season than we had. How is Bonita? Did you work her? I see James yet continue for St. Helen. I hope you and he escaped all sickness last winter, and that Margaret and all the children enjoyed good health. With kind regards to you all and to all friends, I remain your Dear Brother William

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 1 June 1878

Buenos Ayres, Parque 587

Dear Brother,

Yours of April 28th came to hand very opportunely, as we were preparing to start by the Mail of the 5th from Montevideo, and had to leave here on the 3rd to meet her there. So as to Mr. Casey's affairs I am of the opinion that it's more neglect than anything else that has been the cause of the Bills being returned. It is not reasonable to suppose that Casey would hold in deposit in Ireland a large amount at any one time gaining little or no interest, wherein such a high interest is paid here 15%. Some times there are many heavy drafts dispatched, perhaps all about the one time. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that in some of this cases the funds may fall short for start. And I think this may have been the case on the occasion you refer to. I don't know that Casey is a very rich man, but he is doing a good and safe business. I know of numbers as well as myself that deposit with him. He pay 8% and give some out at 12 & 15. He is gone into some large camp business here, which pay well. His working capital were it in the hands of men in England, he would be called a rich man. But I delay my starting now till the 11th of June, and by that time I shall have your promised letter of the 9 of May, which will throw some light on the subject. The memorandum you sent me about the Mercantile Bank of Bs. As. I cannot see how it is that the Manager of National Bank that gave it to James did not know that this said Bank is failed, and has been this last nine months undergoing liquidation and no business doing. And it's not probable that the N. Bank will cash drafts drawn on them by such a Bank while ~~in~~ this state of affairs exist. I am writing this the morning the Packet sail and it's now almost the last moment allowed for letters, so I have to finish wishing you all good health till we see you all well & ____ & c.,

John J. Murphy

I send one paper.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 17 July 1878

Liverpool

Dear Brother,

We start from here for Dublin on tomorrow at 2 o'clock p.m., and will proceed from Dublin to Wexford on Monday the 22nd if not prevented by bad weather or other causes, in which case I will let you know by telegram or letter as the case may require. We are all well & safe. To find you all the same is the anxious wish of your Dear Brother,

John

P.S. It is now raining here. I don't know what hour the train arrive in Wexford. We shall likely stay in Wexford the night of our arrival there.

John

Eliza Murphy to Katie E. Murphy, 2 August 1878

Estancia San Martin, Salto

My Dearest Katie,

Your very welcome letter to Papa of May 20th came duly to hand. I wrote to you on 14th June, having just returned from Salto with Clemmie after having Diphtheria llagas [Chagas?]. I was at home only a week when baby Maggie Kehoe, who was minding her got bad. So off we goes to Salto again, as the Doctor should see them daily. We were only five day's there when I took bad myself, and I don't know how I would have done only for Mary Evoy Mod, who is with us now. She tended us all, then baby was better & two days after Maggie K. got up, St. John's day 24th June. I took bad and I am not got quite well yet. I got a heavy cold with pain in my head, neck and shoulders. But as we are expecting fine spring weather now, I hope soon to be quite well. Baby is quite strong. She did not fail in flesh at all. She is cutting her first tooth and is a very good little girl. She is like Maggie. Clement is rather delicate, but he is pretty well now. Papa bought him a velocipede, but he is too small to work it. But Lizzie is the girl for anything of that sort. She is very hardy. She did not take the Diphtheria although Ellen Kehoe & Fannie got it. Fannie is not well yet Lizzie is going on well at her lessons. She has her book on the table every night, as she don't have time for lessons during the day. Herself & Papa & Clemmie takes a paseo in Croydon sometimes around the camp. The little Grey looks well under the Croydon. Our tame are all been stolen, so that we have to shut them in at night. Dear Katie, I suppose by this time you are either in Dalkey or gone down to Haysland.

Wherever you are I hope you will have sense and be a good girl, and do as you Aunt Margaret wishes and don't run wild while you are out of school. And be very careful if you are bathing not to go into too deep water, nor out too far, nor go into the water while in a heat after running & the like. Tell Maggie the same. I hope you will be careful of your clothes and if you are in the country not to wear your best dresses or other things every day. And also keep your frills & collars cuffs tidy. These you can wash yourself, & also your pocket handkerchiefs, and do them up with very little trouble, and keep Maggie's in order also. Dear Katie, I hope your cold is got quite well by this time. Don't forget going to see poor little Nicholas's grave and make a little wreath of flowers or get something to dress it. If you are down there give my kindest regards to Miss Parker. If you see her also Papa join me in kind regards to Miss Fallon and Revd. Mother. Give our kind regards to the Misses Ballesty, particularly Anita. Mrs. Geoghegan is quite well. Give our love to Aunt Margaret, Uncle Martin, Uncle James, Maggie & all the girls, and to your Aunt Helena if you see her & family. I hope you will go and see Miss E. Fortune. Give her our kindest regards, & not forgetting Eddie. Papa has not been well for some time, with a pain in his back. He is better now. He sends you and Maggie his fondest love. Lizzie, Clemmie & baby also send ye loves and kisses, and accept the same fond feeling dear Katie from your loving Mama,

Eliza Murphy

Patrick Murphy to Martin Murphy, 12 September 1878

Estancia de la Caldera, Rojas

Dear Brother Martin,

I wrote you a few hurried lines about 20th April, having barely time to do so previous to starting of the Mail for England. Being rather confused and hurried at the time, I cannot conveniently remember scarcely one iota of its contents. I received last month a few lines from Johnny. He said he had seen you the day before, and desired kind remembrance, and that ye were all well, a blessing thanks to God we all here enjoy. He says he is improving very much. One thing is evident in his writing that he has improved in that branch at least, for he writes a pretty fair hand. I had a letter from Nicky last week, who is in College since April. He is getting on well also, and requested if I would be writing to give ye all his kindest love. You have I hope long ere this had the pleasure of welcoming once more to the Old house at home Brother John & family, which I hope arrived safely, though leaving here on 15th June. Strange to say, up to the present I have no account of their arrival home. In consequence of his departure and information he can give you, must in a great measure naturally curtail that expected of me. However, since he left here, though a short three months, there have been changes and very serious ones, and I might say unprecedented, at least in the principal districts that are now suffering, namely (John knows them), the south, Lobos, Lujan, Mercedes, Giles, Fortín de Areco, Arrecifes & Salto. Some of the aforesaid partidos (or parishes), are at the present moment in plain speaking without sheep or cattle. There are exceptions, but on a small scale, in most of the partidos mentioned, that is small portions have escaped the plague, where the occupants have not suffered so much, but to view the thing as it stands, there are many at the present moment who were well to do six months ago, who are now on the border of pauperism. We are all at a loss to know the reason of this, but the more intelligent seem to say that it's in consequence of the extraordinary amount of rain fallen in the months of April & May, a conjecture I consider quite applicable to the occasion, as at present in many of the aforesaid partidos, by digging one spit the water will invariable rise to the surface. Consequently, up to the present, and for some time to come, will remain in a barren state. Although we have been fortunate in this district in having good pasture and plenty of it, yet we are at a loss to account for the losses we have sustained up to the present time. We are not the only ones that have suffered, but the whole partido in general. Many are of opinion that it's from the effects of Locusts, which visited us the last four years, and it's my firm opinion also, that they left on their last visit a specia of poison, which up to the present is operating on some of the flocks. We have not seen up to the present (which is late compared to previous years), any Locusts, and I sincerely hope I may be spared the opportunity of seeing them again. In consequence of the aforesaid our increase on the Estancia will, I am sure, be limited, and the amount of Wool compound to the former years will also be deficient. Even so, in part to counteract the effects of same, we have every and very good prospects of receiving up to the present very good prices for our produce, such as sheep skins, Wool and fat sheep, which are all on the advance, the former if good at 300 paper dollars per dozen. Wool, some contracts made at from 10 to 100 per arroba. And fat sheep from 55 to 70 each. I could have contracted for the Wool ere this, but my custom heretofore in not selling until shorn, prevented me from doing so. As I consider I have been pretty lucky in my future bargains, I hope this one will not be an exception. I have not sold as yet any fat sheep, chiefly in consequence of the flocks being uneven and not in very good condition. But I may do so yet but not at less than 60 dollars each. In my last letter, that of April, I enclosed three cards or likenesses of all the family excepting Nicholas & Katie. The former I enclose with this, the other on some future occasion. We would be very glad to get a picture of ye all in return, as those we possess are very old, and not in any way flattered (particularly yourself), which I

consider has not the faintest resemblance. Tell Johnny when you see him that we are all well, with ever kindest love. And perhaps when he writes again I may answer him personally. His sister Katie encloses a few lines for him, which you can deliver at your leisure. Without more to say at present, the family all join me in kind and affectionate regards to all, and I remain your dear Brother,
Patt

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 13 December 1878

San Martin, Salto

Dear Brother Martin,

Your letter of July came safely to us, with the good ____ of you all enjoying good health. We feel very grateful for the particulars you send us of the youngsters, and we are so happy to hear that they were looking so well. We can but imagine how happy they were to get the chance of going down to Haysland and enjoy their vacation amongst their young friends. We had come to the conclusion that Katie and Maggie pass the vacation with the Sisters, and that by next year they would have got more sense and more steady. However, we are now glad that they got the opportunity for as you say their hopes was on it, and we cannot but feel thankful to John and to you all for your great kindness, and hope that they conducted themselves to your wishes. We had letters from them since they must up to school giving us account of the doing, and have they enjoyed themselves ____ amongst you. I have been pretty well engaged for the last two months. The shearing with us has been tedious owing to frequent rains, and it was only on the second of this month that we finished. Wool had been selling at remarkably high prices up to the middle of last month, about ten dollars over last year's prices. Since it has fallen and except good lots difficult of sale. I have been fortunate in selling at \$82½ dollars, that is 2½ dollars over last year's price. But against this we have to confess that the wool is much lighter and I believe that it paid the estancieros better last year though selling at a much less price. The Glasgow Bank and other failures, the high interest in the Bank of England, and the fears that England and Russia must come to strokes cripple our wool business for the present. But many have hopes that next March will see prices as high as has been paid for this season. This past year cannot be counted as good for Estancieros, although wool has been selling at high prices, for it's to the increase of our flocks we have to look for our advancement. I send you a Standard by which you will see the sale of two Estancias (which I mark), good lands command a good price, say 1,000 dollars a square of 150 yards, in or about 30% on ____ at present rate of exchange. I have got into a business renting 1½ league of land, about 22 leagues from here. I had agreed for it at much less than I now pay, but the Boys when they found I was after it ____ it up on me, although it was ____, and even advertised in the Standard. No one seeming to be interested in it until I appeared. I have to inform you that your letter of last February has just turned up. I enclose you two photos of all here, and with kindest regards from all to all, I remain your Dear Brother,
William

Eliza will soon write.

Lamport & Holt to Martin Murphy, 27 December 1878

Liverpool

Your letter of 24th inst. is to hand. Our steamers do not call at Bordeaux but the boats of 10th, 20th, and 30th of each month touch at Lisbon as a rule. If you will furnish us with particulars of ages, etc., we will quote you a fare for the family you speak of.
L&H

Eliza Murphy to Martin Murphy, 13 March 1879

Estancia San Martín, Salto

Dear Brother & Sister,

As William said in his letter that I would write soon, I take this opportunity of sending you a few lines by George Furlong, who is leaving here for the old ____ in a day or two. George say he will not come here again, but I don't believe him. We heard from the children and also from John of Mag's marriage to Mr. Scallan. I don't know him but I know his brother Isaac. He is a first cousin of Bridget Jefferas. His mother was Catherine Jefferas of Bridgetown. My father knew her well. I wish them joy and happiness. Bridget is also married. She is now Mrs. Walters. I hope you are all enjoying good health, especially yourself. Are your legs any better or do they trouble you more in the winter than in summer? You must have uncommon great patience to endure so great a trial. Tell Margaret not to be killing herself working. Surely she ought to take more rest than she does. I suppose she has as much fowl as ever. We could rear no fowl this year. There is a sort of pest of foxes, lizards, polecats and every kind of animals that devour fowl and birds, so they have eat up our young fowl, and it is general all through the camp. I should have said that I received your very kind letter with William's. It was most kind of you to say so many nice things of us after all the trouble and annoyance we gave you, and all the kindness you speak of was on your side, not ours, for was not your house often almost turned upside down with us all. But sad as some of our time was, we will ever think of the part of it we spent in Haysland with pleasure. And I hope the children were good and obedient while they were with you last summer and have got more sense than they had. We had letters from them last week. They are all well the ____ say they are going on very well. Katie and Maggie are much improved in writing, but Willie is not ____ better. He does not fatigue himself writing to us as he writes about two letters in the year. The girls write every month and we are surprised that Willie don't write oftener. Lizzie has grown very tall. She has forgot nothing that she saw or heard while in Ireland. And Clemmie, though he is often delicate, he is growing greatly. He yet calls himself Minnie and have not forgot Uncle Martin one bit. And when we were in B. Ayres in the first of the new year, the poor lad thought we were going to the big steamer and off to see Uncle Martin, and it is quite a common saying with him. Perhaps we will go to Ireland next year. Baby is a very good little girl. She is not walking yet. You said tell William not to be working so hard. I think it is now he is beginning to work right. He was away for the past fortnight in Pavón, arranging the new place, for he has to be in the first and last of everything or I think the proper way of saying it is do it yourself or it will be undone. He has gone to a great deal of expense this year. I hope we will have a couple of good years to pull through. He has not been so well this year, as we think he ought after a sea voyage, and as for myself my head was never so bad as since I had the diphtheria. I really thought I would have to get my likeness taken with two or three handkerchiefs on it. Now is James Murphy and Judy give them our kind regards, also to Miss Fortune, Nick Pierce, James Furlong and all the neighbours. I hope Jemmy and family are well. William unites with me in love to them all, also to Sister Margaret and though last not least, accept yourself a double portion from us both, and believe me your affectionate Sister,

Eliza Murphy

I heard lately that William Breen was well, & also heard that he has grown very old looking. I have not seen him since he went to live to Rojas. I hope the winter has agreed with Ellen and family. Give our kind regards to them all. D. John, I have two or three numbers of the Southern Cross, which I will take you on _____. We got them & a handkerchief by George. No more news. All well & hope you are all the same as everyone.

[enclosure]

Dear Sister Margaret,

George have some pocket handkerchiefs. They are not very nice, but the best I could command at short notice. I am sending Bess a beads so that I hope she will say a lot of prayers for us, and one to Mrs. Duggan and one to poor Nelly Cloake, Mrs. Duggan's girl. Bess will take them down to them. The beads are not blessed. I would have sent Ellen and Aunt a necklace but George is not taking a trunk and they could be smashed in a bag. I hope Mrs. Crosbie and family are well. Give them our kind regards, also to Mr. and Mrs. O'Connor and Mr. and Mrs. Leacey and to _____ and all the girls at Whitney, and not forgetting Mrs. Whitney herself. I saw Mr. and Mrs. William Boggan last week. They are quite well. They have sent a son to Ireland to school. Kind regards to all the neighbours, and I remain your fond sister,

Eliza Murphy

Don't forget getting your kindness and Martin's taken and send them to us. The old ones are not like you. Tell Jemmy to send us the children's also. I am sending these cartes to Jemmy.

Kenny to Father Barry, 27 March 1879

Branch College – Blackrock Dublin

My Dear Father Barry, Several parents having written to know whether they may safely send _____ their sons to the College, I am happy to state that since the date of my first circular three weeks ago, though there were no less than 120 boys in the house, we have been free from all sickness save two mild cases of scarlatina, both now convalescent. I am therefore induced to hope that, with the Blessing of God, the danger has passed away, especially as those boys (twelve in all) who fell sick, were at once removed outside the College grounds, and every means of disinfecting has been resorted to. Studies have never been interrupted, and a number of boys who had left have returned again. Begging to tender my heartfelt thanks to all the parents who have so kindly expressed the sympathy in our trouble, I remain yours very truly,
Kenny

All Hallows, March 28, '79

I received this notice _____ Superior _____ Blackrock _____
Willie may _____ kindly _____ the day _____ by which _____ intend sending him back so that I may meet him & bring him I saw Katie & Maggie before lodging him in College.

Yours very truly,

_____ Barry

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 7 May 1879

Wexford, Dear Brother,

Your note of Monday evening duly to hand, and we felt indeed sorry that poor James Murphy had continued so poorly, but the man that has just now arrived tell me he is all right again.

The Doctor say it would be as well that we don't go down till Sunday or Monday. I may drive out to see the calfs tomorrow at Barrintown, so we may be down on next Sunday. We drove to Kilmore on yesterday about a place for the three summer months, as it's more lightsome place than Carn or Bashee. All well, trusting all will get on well there, and remain your Dear

Brother,

John

P.S. Ellen send some little sweets for the chicks.

J.J.M.

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 25 July 1879

San Martin

Dear Brother Martin,

I received your kind letter of May 7th (on June 22nd), and bearing the sad news of-the death of poor Katie, our god-child. We all feel sorry, for we know what a trial it will be to John and Ellen. But God, who knows what is best for us and these little ones, he calls to him from the snares of this world, and knowing that it was his holy will should be our consolation. And although we may often think of those dear ones, it will always be joy to us knowing that they are for better provided for than we could have done for them. We all here are much after the old fashion, all enjoying good health, excepting GP, who is now entirely confined to his room, and as exacting or more so in the attention paid to his wants. Clemmie is much improved in his appearance and growth, and has been enjoying rather good health. This winter, to be sure, has been so far rather an exceptionally fine one. Yet, in many parts of this province, people have had to move their stock for want of grass. In fact, but few places can boast for it has been almost general, at least inside of Salto. Here we are so far well off pasture short but yet quite sufficient to pass us to spring. Rojas is good. Owing to bad camp, and it's feared graserías will not work this year, hence but few sales may be expected of fat stock unless for the consumption of the City ____ And owing to the failure of Mr Casey's live stock venture to England it's not likely it will again be attempted for a long time. We are expecting in a few days a steamer to convey sheep in a frozen state to France, and I have great hopes in turning out a success. If it does, it will be the solving of the export trade from South America to Europe. We are now sending to the English market any amount of wheat, some lots realising for shippers up to 15 per cent, selling in the home market only 3d less than the home grown. You may look out next year for any amount for the good results of this year have caused a great stir, and opened people's eyes to the wheat growing business. We expect by this that Willie is again down with you. We had a letter from him, but a short time since he managed to send us about two in the year. Katie and Maggie write regularly. We expect they will spend this year's vacation in Dalkey but Father Barry has promised to give them a few excursions about Dublin, which will always be a treat to them. I saw Patt and family a short time since. They are all quite well. Nick is growing very much. He is yet in college in the City. Annie Cormack has got married to a Mr Gilmour. It was time for some one of them to try it. George can give you all the news of this country. I hope he is getting good health and I hope yourself, sister Maggie, James and family, John and all friends enjoy the same health,

and with best wishes from Eliza, Lizzie, Clemmie, and myself, sincerely yours, your dear brother,
William

William Murphy to Martin Murphy, 26 July 1879

Salto

Dear Brother,

As Willie is likely to be with you, he may need some little thing ere he goes back, and although Fr. Barry is very considerate and kind, yet something may escape him. I will also ask you to give me your opinion of him. You think Willie is going on? I have no fears of his advancing if he is only attended to, that is the question. And from the information to Barry received from the College, he is progressing favourably. There one thing, he has not improved in his writing, yet I don't mind that so much. Father Barry seem to ~~say~~ think that he is going on very well. As for the girls, I think they are well looked after, and Maggie is now showing signs of improvement. With kindest love to Margaret from Eliza & myself, and wishing you both long happiness is the wish of your ____ Brother William

I send you a Standard, please forward it to George.

Patt Murphy to Martin Murphy, 3 August 1879

La Caldera, Rojas

Dear Brother Martin,

Yours of May 7th to hand through William. I have been a long time expecting a letter from you. I wrote you last in September and since that and for some time previous I did not receive a scratch from you. We heard ye were all well, on one occasion through Johnny. I have had a letter from B. John of June the 1st conveying chiefly the sad intelligence which you anticipated in yours of the death of poor little Kitty. For him & Ellen we all jointly sympathise. It's consoling to learn ye are all in good health at present, with the prospect of no other members of the family being attacked by that dread disease. In return I am thanks to God happy to inform you we all here enjoy the same blessing. If you received my last I told you a good deal about last year being so unpropitious to sheep farmers in general, consequently a repetition of it here would be I consider useless. As I expect you had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Brett, who at the time was stationed in the center of the most infested districts, therefore had a much better opportunity of knowing and also explaining the losses that nearly all experienced, and many reduced, I am sorry to say, to begging. This year I am grieved to say many people have fared much worse (with many exceptions). The former are chiefly the occupants of the inside partidos, say a radius of 30 or 35 leagues from Buenos Ayres. I believe in all directions, you will scarcely at present time or three months since see a flock of sheep or a head of horned cattle. By saying inside partidos or parishes you will naturally come to the conclusion that we are amongst they favoured ones, which I am happy to answer in the affirmative, thanks to God for all his favours. Up to the present year could not be more favourable a reasonable increase (but not extraordinary) in the flocks up to the present. But most of them have commenced again, or as we call it, the second lambing. But at the present time we cannot form an idea of what the result may be, as the next two months are

allowed for same. The account of the European Markets as regards wool & sheep skins are to the present very encouraging. But grease very flat. Our sheep are in a condition to day that I rarely saw surpassed in this country, for my experience (of I may say 25 years). Yet buyers are very scarce. In fact the few of trades I have heard of are chiefly made to supply the markets, at prices ranging from 53 to 60 dollars each. The supply is on account of the bad camps limited consequently is very doubtful if the graserias work this season. But I will know that in a few days, as I heard on yesterday of Mr. Brett having arrived. I am glad to hear of Johnny's photographs, but am at a loss to decide what to make of him being so long absent. I consider it rather a different question to answer. But I think his tutors for the years past should be the best judges in that respect, and I would be far from denying him the gratification of embracing any respectable profession that would suit him. As to learning music, unless he is possessed of an ear and good taste for same, I consider perfectly useless. Also, I would much sooner hear of him learning Spanish than French (but perhaps the former is not taught at St. Peter's), as I believe should he embrace a profession. This country would prove the best to operate in at present and for years hence. You will perhaps think it very strange what I am going to tell you now, that I never knew exactly my own age. Therefore, you would confer a great favor by making inquiries if you think or know of any one there who could enlighten you on the subject. You would likely know by referring to the records of christenings, which are preserved I suppose in every church. All join in kind love to all, and I remain your dear Brother,
Patt

I write Brother John same post to Haysland.

Patt Murphy to Martin Murphy, 7 October 1880

Dear Martin,

At last after nearly three months sojourn I take my pen and really with shame to write you a few lines, though Johnny & Nick wrote immediately after our arrival, when I told them to give account of our good health and safety, yet all that is not sufficient. I consider to atone for my negligence, but pray excuse me for this time, as I expect in future to prove a better boy. Our voyage was anything indeed but a pleasant one, in consequence of the Ship being over loaded it was one continual rood even in the finest weather. About 400 miles from the mouth of the Plate, opposite the Brazilian coast, but luckily the wind off Shore, we were visited by a terrific storm of at list five hours duration. And I assure you during that interval, our hopes of again seeing B. Ayres were very slight indeed. We lost nearly all our deck Cargo of live stock, & dead stock also, such as life boats and in fact all amidships. Our Bulls & Rams, the latter belonging to Nash, all nearly went, and some of both washed clean over during the night that no one could give account of. We had a quarter master killed about 3 o'clock p.m. by the shipping of a Sea, it stuned and left him insensible. He only survived about 15 minutes, but it was three days after before we could go forward to enter him in a watery grave. Our Ship was no doubt a good one, the *Hevelius*. But as the Captain told me, she was never loaded so heavy since she was a ship, at 500, twice more than ever she carried, and then a live cargo but small on deck, which the Captain says was the principal cause of our peril, because the boxes containing Bulls got broken. At the same time the debris coming in contact with our steering chain, broke it and left us for many hours completely helpless. But enough on this painful subject, only thanks to God for our safe delivery. We arrived in Montevideo on 3rd of July, then to hear of a revolution in Buenos Ayres. But luckily they were in the act of coming to a *peaceible* understanding. We remained fours days at the Mount discharging cargo day &

night. Then proceeded and arrived in Buenos Ayres on the 7th July to find it a complete topsyturvy, everything disarranged, mole head torn up, all the Streets dug up to construct a form of barricades at a radius of about a league from the Centre of the City. On our arrival they had just commenced to replace those things, and for my three short months absence, I am really at a loss and feel utterly incompetent to form an opinion as to the contrast one month of revolution can do. It's useless for me to give a detailed account of the revolution, or the past or present political aspect of the country, as you must have already seen or at least heard through Brother John, as he gets N. Papers from here. All I can say and I think with safety, and hope fervently that revolutions in this Country is now a thing of the past. We started for the Camp on the morning of the 8th July, and arrived in Rojas the 9th about midday. By same coach came two letters which I wrote in Ireland, and one of them in Dublin on my first arrival there, so the postal communication you may take it for granted was revolutionized also. We found all our family well, and located in the village as a place of more safety on such occasions, they had very little to complain of during the disturbance, more than the loss of a few old horses. After my departure to Ireland, they experienced here a drought of two months duration, which seriously affected the Camps, and I think the cow cattle also, as immediately after my arrival they commenced dying at an average of two or three daily. The poor conditions of the cattle I assure you made one feel rather nervous, particularly approaching Saint Rose, out patron Saint 30th of August, which invariably gives reason to the annually remembered, but this year it passed over gloriously fine, I suppose for the sole purpose of hoarding up her enmity for 15 days more to descend with greater vengeance on the 14th and 15th ultimo. The former was ushered in by sleet accompanied by a piercing cold and strong wind, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Snow commenced to fall and continued heavily for at least three hours, then changed into frozen sleet until after night-fall, when snow commenced again and continued for some hours in the night. The 15th came in about the same and no abatement whatever in the wind, and continued with increasing fury until next morning, which opened without rain but the appearance of the atmosphere any thing but prepossessing. The most sad and melancholy news I have yet to chronicle is my own individual loss by this serious visitation of Providence. In sheep thanks to God our loss is insignificant, but in the horn Cattle to the amount of 800 head have perished as near an estimate as I can at present form, my whole four years gathering or more gone in a moment and calculating from the mortality in Cows, the prospect is doubtful as to having my principal at the end of next year. The loss I believe has been general, particularly in this province. It is said it extended to the others also, in this none escaped. All suffered nearly equal according to their stock, and a few worse having lost all. The estimated loss in this province alone, but I think under the mark, is the round number of one million head, so much for the 14th and 15th September 1880, which will long be remembered and quoted in Argentine history, as one of the most severe storms according to the oldest inhabitant, ever visited this *Republic*. I will now try and finish my letter with more pleasant news, and first I must tell you of Katie E.'s marriage on the 19th of August, her 21st birthday, so she now goes by the name of Kate Kearney. We are now making preparations to commence shearing in about 10 days, hence there is a great deal of Wool already sold, and a great number of buyers all through the Camp offering very good prices. I sold the other day (all through) at 94 dollars delivered on Estancia. I believe I have no more to say. I will annex a P.S. chiefly intended for John as he knows they parties mentioned herein. I hope ye are all well. I conclude, all here joining me in kind remembrance to ye all, and I remain your loving Brother,
Patts

P.S. Dear John, You recollect the land of Alvear's we were talking about at your house, that Casey was about buying for some English Company, and as the story goes did so. But after some time they say in consequence of the unsettled state of the Country previous to the Revolution it was put into Casey's hands to dispose of, which he did to the Gahans, and I suppose to advantage (fourteen leagues). I really believe our big friend expected a slice of it, as there was great secrecy practised about Lett going out to see it. Casey offered them the other day six leagues of an Estancia outside Lavallo, about 35 leagues or more from Rojas. They bargained for the whole in case they liked it. Consequently Tom & Dick Lett went see it, and returned dissatisfied with the quality & position of same. Therefore no purchase. There was none of it intended for you Brett said they would have two leagues each, and were in a portion of it immediately. ~~Brett says~~ Casey has them in his pocket. Brett says they lost on Ballesty's place about six hundred head, but others say much more. In sheep I believe their loss was trifling, but not so in some places as whole flocks have perished. Ere yesterday I heard the loss of sheep alone on Duggans place in Chacabuco is estimated at 20,000 head. Brett commenced shearing at Ballesty's on yesterday, finishing there, then proceeds to Mercedes for the same purpose. He told me and a good many Rojeros on Sunday last, that he would occupy nothing but men to shear, and would bring out some from Mercedes to learn those here, and pay them at the rate of 60% per cent, a rise of 10 per cent on the old established price. You may imagine he heard a little more than he relished, of our opinion on the subject of his great aspirations. During my absence, Tom Kearney bought an Estancia in Junin of 1 1/3 or 1 1/4 leagues *con poblaciones* in the small sum of 300,000 *plata contada*. It's doubtful if I can fulfil my contract without disturbing out little cousin Peter, as he is going and getting nearly all the men to go, drunkards nearly, and sometimes more than weekly. I hope Ellen is perfectly recovered. Your dear Brother,
Patt

Eliza Murphy to Martin Murphy, 23 February 1881

Dear Brother Martin,
It is with feelings of deep sorrow that I write you the sad news of poor Brother Patt's death. We were quite shocked on Sunday morning at 4 o'clock to hear that he was dead, and up to that moment not having heard that he was ill. He first complained of a slight pain in his ear, and afterwards found that his neck was swelled at back of the ear, the glands. This was a complaint going here this past year, but I never heard of any person dying from it. He bled a little from the nose and also threw a little off up, apparently from the stomach. Yet they did not think it was at all serious, as he did not complain much, until immediately before his death, which took place about sunset on Saturday 19 inst. May God have mercy on his soul and comfort his afflicted family, for though the children are all _____. They are young and the boys inexperienced. Poor Nick left his father in good health, going out to see those lands. What will he feel on his return to find him days in his grave. I intended writing some time since, especially when we heard of poor Anty's death, poor child. She was too innocent and good for this world, but I pity, her father he must feel his loss greatly. She was so fond of him, but we must each go in turn, and if we be as well prepared as poor Anty we will be happy. We are all well here. William got a severe fall from a horse about a month since. He was much bruised and his face cut. His left leg was very stiff and painful for some time. It was a miracle how he could escaped with whole bones. He was very much shaken but he is almost quite well again thank God. I sent you the children photographs through Mrs. Scallan. You will see what a great by your little Minnie has grown. He is one of the greatest mischief makers in the

partido. Hoping this will find you all in the best of health, and united by William in love to each and all our dear friends, I remain your affectionate Sister,
Eliza Murphy

We had a letter from the girls a short time since after we writing every month last year. Katie tells us she got only two letters from June to December. Fr. Barry thinks Katie ought to have won some prizes perhaps she may next time. Fr. John Leahy has gone to Europe.

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 3 March 1881

Juliamount

Dear Brother,

We are going to the White House this summer, and expect to go out early in May if the weather be fine. Martin is much improved and getting strong every day. The fair today was very poorly supplied. Cattle of about an average of 20 of Ballyconnor best going from £9 up to £10. None but Wexford men attended, and buying was confined to Farmers at the above prices. We may take a room down on Sunday if the weather permit, and call to see Mrs. Duggan on our way down. No news about I hope you have got through well with the Inscriptis. Send us in a little park, let it be same of the lean joints all well & I remain your
Dear Brother,
John

John Murphy to Martin Murphy, 3 May 1881

Juliamount

Dear Brother,

I had the expected instructions with Huggard today. He seem most anxious to defeat Harrington in his proceeding. The enclosed is his answers to the questions submitted to him. Apart from that he tell me we can make a capital thing out of the Lease, he say the Sheriff has no power to sell a freehold which a Lease of ____ constituted, and has suggested the following. Let the place be put up and to run the bidding to within £2 or £3 of amount of costs and all, and then let them take it. Then it won't be worth while for them to seize for the £2 or £3 they are short. Therefore the debt is paid by themselves all but the £2 or £3, and they then proceed for possession in the forms explained in the sheet. James will then at the sessions or assizes as may he presents his Lease, which make the whole proceedings gone into only a bottle of smoke and came out with the debt paid by the Landlord himself, all best the £2 or £3. This scheme afford ample time to recover the crop and secure every thing etc. about. In your case he say it will be more difficult to secure the crop. He recommend the bidding on the same scale as in James case. If your valuation is over £30 he had to difer till the assizes before serving you with an ejectment. Then he say by appealing you ____ him off till about October, leaving you time to secure the crop. There may be other points in your case that can be made use of, as he enquired very particularly if my Father made a Will or if you inherited the place by Will, or did you administer to the Will. He seemed to be anxious to find some point that would remove your Claim to the place. But I could not answer his questions about the Will and administration, so we have to see him on Friday before going to Court. Bring in with ye both all the papers or deeds that ye both hold concerning the place. I firmly believe Huggard is determined to defeat Harrington and the Landlord if he can. Therefore, taking these points with consideration I think we can make a splendid stand. But be careful to keep the whole

scheme strictly private. Otherwise the Landlord may checkmate us by proceeding a different way. Come in early on Friday, and come up here direct. There will be no time after meeting the men at the Hotel, and seeing Huggard to do so. We can have a snack here before going down, say at 11 o'clock, the hour named. Tell James to bring in the Notice paper he got of the sale. I have yours here. I enclose a letter from Mickey today. No more news about. All well, don't forget Leases and all. Your Dear Brother,
John

[Enclosure]

A Tenant holding a Lease whose Interest is bought by the Landlord, at a Sheriff sale.

1st. When can he be dispossessed & by what means?

2nd. If he has a right to crops sown, or by what means he can secure them?

3rd. Has he power to redeem the place, & what time?

4th. In what position does a Tenant stand under the same circumstances, that hold no Lease?

Answer to 1st query. By an Ejectment on the title at next or subsequent assizes & if Poor Law Value under £30. At Quarter Sessions.

2nd query. Tenant has no right to crops as it is all his interest in lands which is sold.

3rd. No, being a sale of his interest it becomes the absolute property of the purchaser.

4th. No difference.

If Tenants sold for any amount less than the amount demanded by Sheriff [21 Irish acres] on the Execution, the Sheriff can seize & sell at any time any other property of the Execution Debtor to make up such deficiency. But if the tenant's interest sells for more than the amount due on the execution for debt, costs & expenses, the Sheriff must pay the surplus to the Debtor.

4th May 1881
Martin Huggard
Solicitor
Wexford

John Murphy to John Parle, 15 February 1886

Buenos Aires
Mr John Parle
Dear Sir,

When writing to you my last I had partly decided not to take any further steps about your affairs in this country, since you seemed not inclined to act as I directed. It's not possible but Mr Huggard could have told you "____" [that] to act for others than yourself you must be judicially and legally appointed and that the power you sent was not worth the paper it was written on. I don't think you are so simple as to suppose that Mr Casey and myself would act in such delicate business otherwise than strictly legal. Did we think in the beginning you would have acted as you did (having the advice of solicitor) we might have then taken the steps we do now in sending it. The property left by your brother Nicholas, being in paper currency, has very much reduced in value owing to the advanced premium on gold in this market. But from the financial state of the country, at present no one can say when or where this will end. Therefore, fearing things may get worse, I again decided to consult Mr Casey about sending it in the form and manner we have, I pledging myself to him that all would be properly and legally disposed of. He consented on these terms [to] hand the draft in favour of

you and brother Martin. As to the girls part 200 £ each. I think Mr Haggard will admit the necessity of you or others being made legal trustees. Otherwise, they are not legally represented, and we could not stand by handing their part over to you or others, unless so appointed. In doing this you will of course choose the simplest and cheapest way available. You will see by the account sent that Mr Casey (though not legally bound) has paid bank interest up to date. Moreover, Mr Casey and myself have not deprived the heirs of any of their part by keeping the 5% each, commission that the law allows trustees in this country. Therefore I trust you will acknowledge brother Martin's services, the medium through which we have arrived at this settlement, which I hope will be done in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. Yours truly,

John J. Murphy

P.S. It is not true that I took any parts nor was I present at the settlement between your brother James and Mr Casey, neither was I a party to any promises that Mr Casey may have made your brother about yours and the girls part. Therefore I broke no promises I ever made that could be fulfilled. J. J. M.

Cissie M. Gahan to Ellen (Roche?), 4 May 1925

48 Green Street, London

My Dear Ellen,

I should have written to you long ago & given you all our news, but you can't imagine all I have had to think about lately. You will be surprised to hear that my big daughter Minnie is married, & now away in Rome on her honeymoon. The wedding was on the 22nd of April, & from this house which I have rented for a few months. Harry arrived home from B.A. on the 23rd March, & from then it was nothing but worry & preparations. The invitations were only out a few days before the wedding, as his only sister was very ill abroad & we were not sure if the event would have to be postponed. She arrived over here with the mother just four days before the wedding. Then my poor Nellie (my third girl) was ill after having pleurisy in _____ land, and the Doctors would not allow her to stay in London, so she was not even up here for the wedding. Altogether it was a most worrying time, but everything went off well & friends said the church looked beautiful, & also the bride, etc. etc. We had a few people here after the ceremony. Monsignor Cocks, our rector from Eastbourne, married them, & the service was very short as Harry is not a Catholic. Minnie's dress was white crêpe satin with a long train of lace bordered with the satin, & a plain _____ veil. She looked quite _____. Elsie & Madge Lawrence were the bridesmaids & wore flowered chiffon dresses & large mauve hats. The presents were mostly silver things, as she will be going to live in Buenos Aires. I don't feel that she is married, but when they leave for B.A. in July or August I shall miss her. She had cables from Jack, Millie, Martin & Lola, & Nico's widow, & also from other friends out there. I had this house until the end of June, but am now giving it up as Nellie can't come back for two or three months. She has to fatten up & put on weight, as she is very thin & run down. My young ones are just getting back to school, so I am very busy. I had the two boys up here today to do some shopping, & then they went back to Eastbourne with Elsie. We were hoping to have news of Millie coming over but none has come so far. It seems a pity not to have been able to have all our people at the wedding. I am sending you a bit of the cake, though _____ I fear. My love to all. Your affectionate cousin,

Cissie M. Gahan